‘So long lives this’

A Celebration of Shakespeare’s Life and Works 1616–2016

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‘So long lives this’

A Celebration of Shakespeare’s Life and Works, 1616-2016

William Shakespeare Sonnet 18

Shall I compare thee to a Summers day?
Thou art more lovely and more temperate:
Rough windes do shake the darling buds of Maie,
And sommers lease hath all too short a date:
Sometime too hot the eye of heaven shines,
And often is his gold complexion dimm'd
And every faire from faire some-time declines,
By chance, or natures changing course untrimm'd:
But thy eternall Sommer shall not fade,
Nor loose possession of that faire thou ow'st,
Nor shall death brag thou wandr'st in his shade,
When in eternall lines to time thou grow'st,
So long as men can breath, or eyes can see,
So long lives this, and this gives life to thee.

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‘So long lives this’

A Celebration of Shakespeare’s Life and Works, 1616–2016

Exhibition & Catalogue by Scott Schofield

Peter W.M.Blayney
Alan Galey
Marjorie Rubright

With an introduction by Anne Dondertman

THOMAS FISHER RARE BOOK LIBRARY

University of Toronto 25 January–28 May

Catalogue and exhibition by Peter Blayney, Alan Galey, Marjorie Rubright, and Scott Schofield
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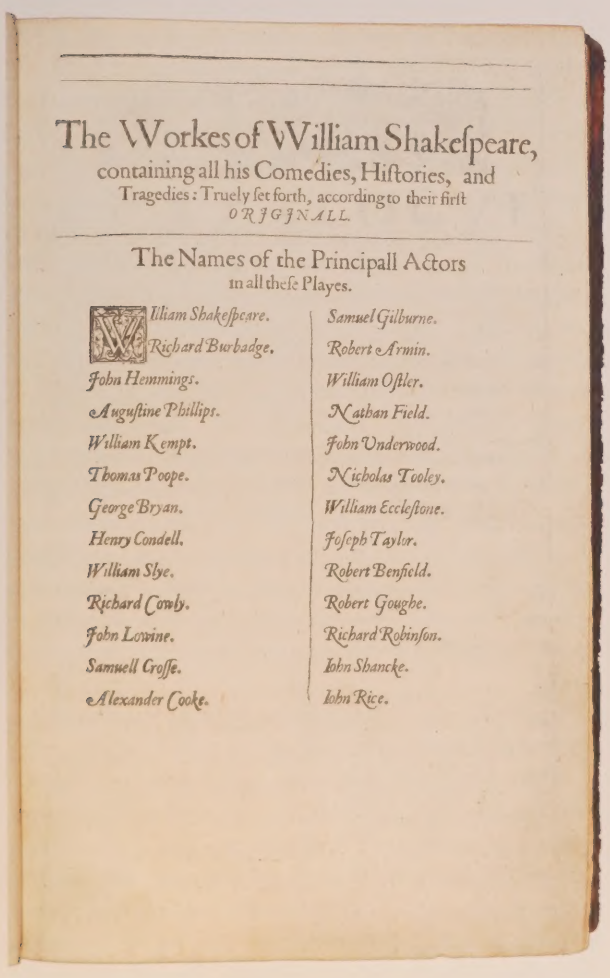
View of London, showing the Globe theatre (number 36), just to the left of Southwark Cathedral.

General Introduction and The Story of the Fisher First Folio

The years between 2014 and 2016 have been busy ones for the Shakespeare industry as the 450th anniversary of Shakespeare's birth, and this year the four hundredth anniversary of his death, inspire yet more books, exhibitions, and public and scholarly interest in one of the greatest writers in the English language. Perhaps the grandest of these projects is entitled simply 'First Folio!' and is a tour organized by the Folger Shakespeare Library which will see copies of its First Folios on display in museums, universities, public libraries, and historical societies in all fifty states. The Folger Library holds more than a third of the 233 known copies of the First Folio – the first collected edition of Shakespeare's plays published in 1623, seven years after his death. The Folger's Folios are not travelling to Canada but we are fortunate at the Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library, University of Toronto to have the only copy of the First Folio in the country.[1] It, as well as the Second (1632), Third (1664), and Fourth (1685) Folios along with many other key items in the Fisher collections, will be on public display from 25 January through 28 May 2016. The story of how the Shakespeare collection came to Toronto will be told later in this introduction.



The Workes of William Shakeſpeare,
containing all his Comedies, Hiſtories, and
Tragedies: Truely ſet forth, according to their firſt
ORIGINALL.

The Names of the Principall Actors
in all theſe Playes.

William Shakeſpeare.
Richard Burbadge.
John Hemmings.
Auguſtine Phillips.
William Kempt.
Thomas Poope.
George Bryan.
Henry Condell.
William Slye.
Richard Cowly.
John Lowine.
Samuell Groſſe.
Alexander Cooke.
Samuel Gilburne.
Robert Armin.
William Oſtler.
Nathan Field.
John Underwood.
Nicholas Tooley.
William Eccleſtone.
Joſeph Taylor.
Robert Benfield.
Robert Goughe.
Richard Robinſon.
John Shancke.
John Rice.

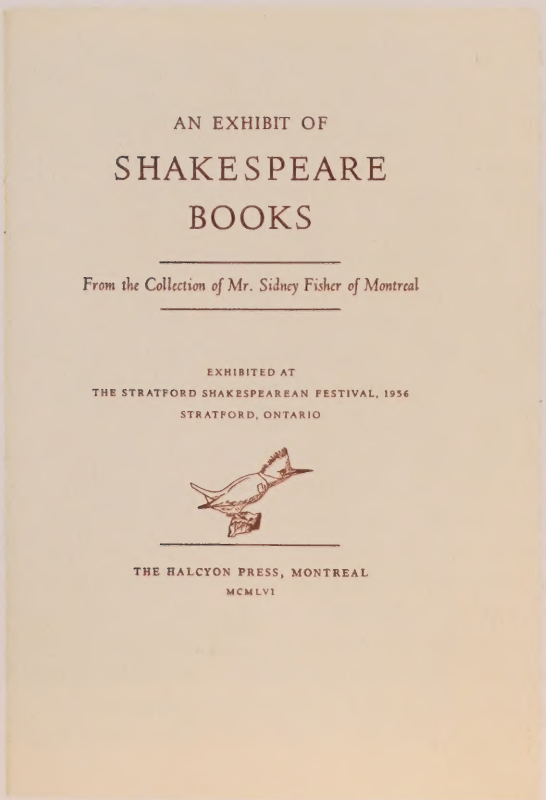
Although Shakespeare himself had no involvement in the publication of his collected plays, it has served him well. If the 1623 folio had not been published, about half of his plays would be unknown today, including *Macbeth*, *Julius Caesar*, *As You like It*, *Twelfth Night*, and *The Tempest*. Shakespeare was an actor as well as a playwright and he wrote his plays to be performed. His name heads the list of actors that appears as one of the preliminary pages in the First Folio. Yet it is the plays in their written form that have largely shaped our understanding of Shakespeare the man, and the writer. It is Shakespeare's texts, from the monumentally important First Folio of 1623 and the other three seventeenth-century folios, to the hundreds of editions over the next four centuries that have been our chief means of engaging with Shakespeare, not only in the English-speaking world, but around the globe.

The Fisher Library's exhibition and catalogue, *'So Long Lives This': A Celebration of Shakespeare's Life and Work, 1616–2016*, explores that rich history through contributions by four scholars who have generously given of their time and expertise. The catalogue begins with a chapter by Peter Blayney, freeman of the Stationers' Company, and authority on the early London book trade. Blayney outlines the history of the publication of the First Folio and traces its progress through the printing house of William Jaggard. This is followed by a chapter by Scott Schofield, general editor of the catalogue. Schofield is a book historian and scholar of Renaissance literature with particular expertise in the history of reading. In his first chapter he further elaborates on the Jaggards and provides additional context on early seventeenth-century printing. Schofield's second chapter imagines the working life of Shakespeare the writer and reader through an examination of his sources and the print culture in which he lived and operated. Marjorie Rubright is a feminist scholar of Renaissance literature with particular expertise in early modern lexical culture as well as the period's constructions of race and ethnicity. Her chapters open onto the broader context of global trends and influences evident in Shakespeare's plays through readings of *Henry V* and *Othello*. Rubright's first chapter considers *Henry V* as part of a widespread cultural conversation about the defining limits of the English language, while her second chapter explores the boundlessness of Shakespeare's global imagination by tracking the 'stranger of here and everywhere' in *Othello*, on maps and atlases, and in costume- and emblem-books of the period. Alan Galey, whose research and teaching focuses on the history and future of books, concludes in the final chapter by examining Shakespeare and the book since the nineteenth century, illustrating the ways in which Shakespeare continues to be reimagined in response to a changing world and our evolving understanding of Shakespeare as writer and iconic figure. The exhibition thus draws on a great diversity of material ranging across four centuries, highlighting the wonderful richness of the Fisher holdings.

Sidney (left) and Charles Fisher with Marion Brown, the head of the department of rare books and special collections at the official opening of the Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library in 1973

The Sidney and Charles Fisher donation in 1973

The core of the Shakespeare collection came to us when Sidney Thomson Fisher (1908–1992) and his twin brother Charles Boddy Fisher (1908–1994) were persuaded to donate their book collections[2] to the University of Toronto when the Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library officially opened in 1973. In addition to more than three thousand books on Shakespeare and a related collection of six thousand engravings by Wenceslaus Hollar (1607–1677), the donation also included the works of Rudyard Kipling, Lord Dunsany, and Norman Douglas. The Fishers were based in Montreal but both had graduated in engineering from the University of Toronto in 1929, and had gone on to found a profitable electronics firm, Radio Engineering Products. Sidney Fisher was awarded an honorary doctorate by the University in 1969. The connection to Toronto was also through their great-grandfather, Thomas Fisher, an early settler who came from Yorkshire in 1821 and established the first grist and saw mills on the Humber River.[3] It was in recognition of the Fisher brothers' remarkable gift that the new Library was named the Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library. The acquisition immediately put Toronto in the front ranks of rare book libraries in Canada. The Fisher Library is still the only institution in the country to own a First Folio, and the rich and wide-ranging Shakespeare collection in which it is embedded remains one of our great strengths.


AN EXHIBIT OF

SHAKESPEARE BOOKS

From the Collection of Mr. Sidney Fisher of Montreal

EXHIBITED AT
THE STRATFORD SHAKESPEAREAN FESTIVAL, 1956
STRATFORD, ONTARIO

THE HALCYON PRESS, MONTREAL
MCMLVI

The Shakespeare portion of the donation consisted of books that Shakespeare would have used as sources, the four seventeenth-century folio editions, the later eighteenth and nineteenth-century editions, as well as works describing England and London in Shakespeare's day. The Fisher brothers grew up in a house filled with books, and Sidney Fisher's curiosity was first aroused when his father gave him a volume of Shakespeare that he himself had won as a school prize as a boy[4]. The collection was carefully built over the course of several decades, from antiquarian dealers in England and Europe. The interest in Shakespeare, and in the London of Shakespeare's time, led Fisher to Hollar's views of London, and he went on to form one of the largest collections of Hollar engravings in the world

Sidney Fisher was justifiably proud of his set of the four folios. In August 1955, just a few months after the purchase , Fisher wrote to the Rt. Hon. Vincent Massey, the Governor-General of Canada, to alert him to the importance of the acquistion and invited him to a gathering at his home in Montreal.[6] The invitation was renewed the following February, and Fisher noted that his set of folios, according to the Director of the Folger Library was 'the finest private collection on this side of the Atlantic' and emphasized that 'The presence of these books here seems therefore something of a cultural milepost in Canadian history'.[7] Fisher was invited to Government House and had the opportunity in April 1956 to show Massey some of his Shakespeare collection. Fisher followed up by sending the Governor-General a copy of the Sidney Lee 1902 facsimile edition of the First Folio,[8] and the story of the acquisition and pictures of Fisher's visit with the Governor-General were included in an article in the Montreal *Weekend Magazine* in Montreal in July of that year.[9]

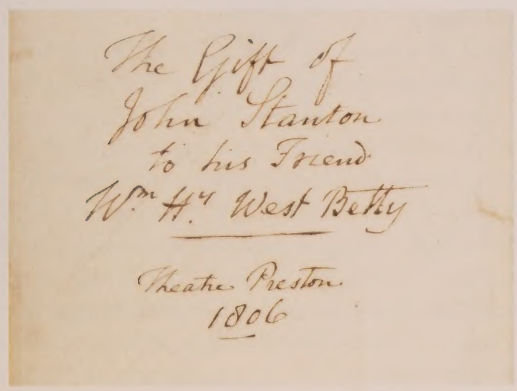
Earlier in 1956 Fisher had also been in touch with the newly established Stratford Shakespearian Festival to offer to exhibit his Shakespeare collection at Stratford, Ontario that summer, and to absorb the costs of transportation, insurance, and security.[10] Arrangements were made remarkably quickly, and a nicely designed catalogue with descriptive notes on each of the books was published and made available for sale,[11] with proceeds going to the financially struggling festival. Fisher exhibited fifty of his books, including the four folios, Holinshed's *Chronicles*, Plutarch, and Chaucer, from 18 June to 18 August, in the Stratford Arena. The exhibition attracted considerable interest, and

over ten thousand visitors from twenty-three countries, in addition to Canada and the United States, viewed the books.[12]

The collection was exhibited again the following year, and several times in the 1960s. Many of Sidney Fisher's books in addition to the four folios, as well as several of his Hollar engravings, are on display in the current exhibition. The collections have not stopped growing, and retrospective as well as more recent material continues to augment the original Shakespeare donation.

The Life Story of the Fisher First Folio

The transfer of the folios was the final step in a long and complex journey for each of those four books, but especially for the much coveted First Folio. Sidney Fisher's donation joined copies of the Second and Fourth Folios already held by the Fisher Library which had been given in the 1960s by the Associates of the University of Toronto, a not-for-profit organization founded in 1946 to facilitate contributions to the University by American donors. The Second Folio presented by them in 1962 has an interesting connection with nineteenth-century performance of Shakespeare. It was owned by the 'Young Roscius', William West Betty (1791–1874) a celebrity child actor who made a substantial fortune playing all the great roles including Romeo, Hamlet, and Macbeth.[13]



Presentation inscription to the prodigy child actor William Betty, in the copy of the Second Folio donated by the Associates of the University of Toronto in 1962.

It contains many missing leaves supplied in facsimile and is in a Rivière binding. Sidney Fisher's copy of the Second Folio is complete, and is a tall copy in an eighteenth-century binding. The Third Folio of 1664 is, as Peter Blayney points out, the rarest of the seventeenth-century editions. When the Third Folio was published, the portrait moved from the title page to the frontispiece, leaving space on the title page to advertise the presence of the additional plays. The copy that Sidney Fisher donated was once in the collection of Baron Horace de Landau (1824–1903), a Hungarian by birth who represented the Rothschild bank in Italy but retired from banking in 1872 to devote himself more fully to collecting. Portions of his vast library of over 80,000 books were sold by Sotheby's in 1948 but a part of the collection still exists as the Villa Landau-Finaly Library within the University of Paris. Our copy of the Third Folio was part of a set of four and was acquired by Dudley Colman (d. 1958), from whom it passed to Sidney Fisher.[14] Both copies of the Fourth Folio are in eighteenth-century bindings and Sidney Fisher's is an exceptionally tall copy and has the unidentified bookplate of John Fothergill. This John Fothergill could have been the Quaker ivory and comb manufacturer,

nephew of the better-known John Fothergill (1712–1780) who was a physician and noted plant collector. Sidney Fisher's copies of the First, Second and Fourth Folios were all previously owned by a single collector, H. Harvey Frost (d. 1969).

Although the First Folio is not a scarce book, since over two hundred of the estimated print run of 750 copies still survive, it is a highly significant and influential one. The First Folio marks the first appearance in print of the collected plays, and its text is the single most important source of textual authority for the Shakespeare canon, since none of his manuscripts have survived, and only about half the plays had been previously published. Even apart from this, however, Shakespeare's plays, perhaps alongside the King James Bible, that predates it by just over a decade, are arguably the most influential texts in the English language. The plays continue to be studied and performed today, and many of Shakespeare's lines have become embedded in our language and our consciousness. Handling the pages of the First Folio still evokes for us something of Shakespeare's own time and place.

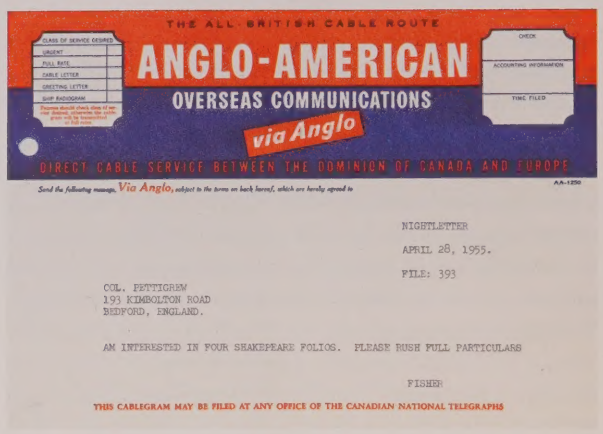
Even as late as the 1950s there were enough folios circulating in the book trade that it was possible to locate good copies of the First and subsequent folios relatively easily. Sidney Fisher purchased his copies at just the right time. In the first volume of Anthony West's *The Shakespeare First Folio* he documents the rate of sale and price levels of First Folios, which shows a fairly consistent upward movement, beginning in the last part of the eighteenth century and continuing throughout the nineteenth century. The average price of a First Folio continued to rise in the first three decades of the twentieth century, but declined in both the 1940s and 1950s, before the rapid takeoff in prices that began in the 1960s and continued for the rest of the century. The average sale price of £1800 in the 1950s was the lowest in the century. By the 1970s the First Folio had at last become a rare book and was priced out of reach of most private owners.[15]

Our part of the story begins with a telegram from Sidney Fisher on 28 April 1955 in which he writes to his agent Col. W. N. Pettigrew: 'Am interested in four Shakespeare folios. Please rush full particulars'. Col. Pettigrew was located in Bedford, England and his letterhead at the time advertises his services as 'Books and Libraries Bought, Enquiries Welcome'. Fisher follows up with a letter the next day in which

he asks Pettigrew for 'the fullest particulars of binding, condition, peculiarities, provenance, etc.' and ends with a request to 'get this information as rapidly as possible'.[16] The letter referred to a set of folios that Pettigrew had sourced at Days Booksellers, consisting of a First, Second, and Fourth Folio from H. Harvey Frost and the Third Folio from Frost's friend Dudley M. Colman. Colman had begun to disperse his books prior to his death. Many of them were sold to the bookselling firm of Charles Stonehill and ended up at Yale University. The remainder were sold after Colman's death by Sotheby's in a sale in May 1958. His First Folio is now at Meisei University in Japan, and according to Anthony West was the first they acquired.[17] Frost, described in his obituary in the *Book Collector* as 'the doyen of English book-collectors'[18] had made a fortune in the garage equipment industry early in the century, and retired early to devote himself to collecting, amassing a significant number of medieval manuscripts as well as the high spots of book collecting including a 1611 King James Bible and the Kelmscott Chaucer. He disposed of many of his books and manuscripts through private sales, as he did for the First Folio, but there was also a sale through Sotheby's in April and May 1958, and another sale in November 1969 after his death.

At Fisher's request, before the sale was finalized, Pettigrew had solicited a professional opinion on the 'set of four Shakespeare folios' from Maggs Brothers in May,[19] which evidently proved satisfactory to Fisher, and by the end of June 1955 they were already in his possession in Montreal. It was the third time in its history that our First Folio had made the journey across the Atlantic. Almost immediately there was great local interest in this extraordinary acquisition, and Richard Pennington, University Librarian at McGill, wrote to congratulate Fisher on 17 June, asking if the First Folio might be lent to them for an exhibition.[20] Fisher seemed delighted with his purchases and from June through November 1955 he initiated a flurry of correspondence to find out as much as he could about his copies of the books, but particularly about the First Folio. In addition to writing to Pettigrew, he corresponded with Dr. McManaway at the Folger Shakespeare Library, Harvey Frost, W. H. Robinson, Kenneth Maggs at Maggs Brothers, Quaritch, William A. Jackson at the Houghton Library, Arthur Swann at Parke-Bernet Galleries in New York, Dudley Colman, George Bayntun Bookbinders, and the Huntington Library. He was interested enough to visit James G. McManaway at the Folger Library around the beginning of November, and also visited Frost in London in December 1955. These inquiries solicited the basic outline of the previous history of the copies now in Fisher's possession, which has since been supplemented and clarified. Of course, the main focus was on the First Folio.

The first owner to leave a tangible record in the Fisher First Folio is John Lloyd (d. 1740) of Aston and Foxhall, whose bookplate appears inside the front cover. Very little is known about him, but he was a member of an old Welsh family, the Lloyd family of Aston Hall, near Oswestry, Shropshire, and Foxhall, Denbighshire. Lloyd's ownership dates to about a century after publication, and we do not know when or how he acquired his copy. The presence of a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AA-1250

NIGHTLETTER

APRIL 28, 1955.

FILE: 393

COL. PETTIGREW
193 KIMBOLTON ROAD
BEDFORD, ENGLAND.

AM INTERESTED IN FOUR SHAKEPEARE FOLIOS. PLEASE RUSH FULL PARTICULARS

FISHER

THIS CABLEGRAM MAY BE FILED AT ANY OFFICE OF THE CANADIAN NATIONAL TELEGRAPHS

Telegram dated 28 April 1955 from Sidney Fisher to his London agent, indicating his interest in the acquisition of the four folios.

bookplate would indicate at least some interest in books and a large enough library to warrant having a bookplate printed. Lloyd died without issue, and there is no mention of books in his own will.[21] It is important to keep in mind that the First Folio was not a particularly significant book at the time, and the mania for Shakespeare collecting did not really begin in earnest until later the following century.[22] Lloyd's books could have been sold, either before or after his death, or could have remained within the Lloyd family for some time, but eventually the copy with his bookplate ended up in the library of the descendants of Sir Francis Drake.

There is a long gap in the ownership record until Sotheby, Wilkinson & Hodge advertises our copy in their sale of 12–15 March 1883. It was one of 1160 lots, part of a library described on the title of the auction catalogue, somewhat cryptically, as 'commenced by an eminent admiral in the reign of Queen Elizabeth and continued by his descendants'[23]. The following month Quaritch advertises portions of this library in their Rough List, No. 64, describing it as an 'Elizabethan Library originally formed by the famous Admiral, Sir Francis Drake and added to from time to time by his Descendants down to a recent date, the collection having been kept together at the old family residence of the Drakes, Nutwell Court, Lympstone, Devon'.[24] Quaritch lists the First Folio as item 239, along with a Second folio from the same source.[25] It next appears in Quaritch's 1884 catalogue as being 'from the Drake library, with book-plate of John Lloyd'.[26] A review of the sale in *The Bibliographer* in June 1883 also identifies the owners: 'Although not so stated, it was known that the admiral was Sir Francis Drake, and that the collection had been brought from the old family residence of the Drakes, Nutwell Court, Lympstone, Devon.[27] The owner at the time of the sale, therefore, was Sir Francis George Augustus Fuller-Eliott-Drake (1837–1916), who had inherited the estate and the title from his uncle Sir Thomas Trayton Fuller-Eliott-Drake (1785–1870). Both were collateral descendants of the Admiral and of the five Drake baronets known as the 'Drakes of Buckland'. It is not known how or when the First Folio entered the Drake library, and no direct connection between the last known owner, John Lloyd, and this branch of the Drake family has been found thus far. The Lloyd/Drake copy was sold by

Quaritch to John Boyd Thacher (1847–1909) of Albany, New York, and our copy crossed the Atlantic for the first time.

A great deal of confusion about the identity of the Drake who owned our First Folio was created by its description in Sidney Lee's 1902 census of copies of the First Folios, an early milestone in First Folio research.[28] Thacher in his reply

Inside cover of the Fisher First Folio showing bookplates of previous owners.

to Lee's census questionnaire in 1901 erroneously stated that Quaritch had acquired the folio from 'Lady Drake in whose family it always was'[29]. The unfortunate consequence was that Lee overlooked Quaritch's 1884 reference to the Drake Library and instead repeated Thacher's mis-statement in the phrase 'formerly the property of Lady Drake', which was widely quoted, and universally assumed by subsequent commentators to be factual.

The move of the First Folio to North America was part of a developing trend, as the locus of the antiquarian book trade began to shift from Europe to America.[30] Thacher was part of a flourishing community of booksellers and collectors which also included the now better-known Henry Clay Folger (1857–1930). Thacher acquired the First Folio, possibly through Quaritch's October 1885 advertisement in *The Athenaeum*. The auction sale of the extraordinary library of Robert Hoe (1839–1909) by the New York firm Anderson Auction Company[31] beginning in 1911 which included two First Folios and two Gutenberg Bibles drew the major dealers from Europe and set record prices. The interest in Shakespeare in particular was notable in the United States at this time, and Carl L. Cannon devotes a chapter in his book on American collectors to tracing the development of Shakespeare collecting beginning in the early nineteenth century[32]. During this time many copies of the folios as well as such rarities as the early quartos, including the collected edition of the 1619 Pavier quartos, were eagerly acquired by American collectors. The folios and other Shakespeariana were sold and re-sold through the book trade and privately within this pool of collectors, and many of them eventually ended up in the Folger collections. At the time of the West census in 2003 there were three times as many copies of the First Folio in North America than in the British Isles.[33]

Thacher was mainly a collector of Americana and incunabula but his copy of the First Folio was not sold until shortly before or after his death in 1909, when it was acquired by the New York collector Beverley Chew (1850–1924). Chew amassed an important collection of American and English literature and many of his books were sold after his death in 1924 in three named sales, with an introduction to the sale catalogue by Henrietta Bartlett (1873–1963)[34]. However, his collection of early English literature (including the First Folio) was sold during his lifetime *en bloc* to Henry Huntington (1850–1927) in 1912.[35] The book did not stay in the Huntington collections for long. There was a series of fifteen auction sales of Huntington duplicates commencing in 1916.[36] The Huntington copy was acquired by the dealer who worked closely with Huntington, George D. Smith, and was purchased from Smith in 1916 by the Rhode Island collector Dr. Roderick Terry (1849–1933).[37] Terry was a cousin of Henrietta Bartlett, and he owned the First Folio until his library was sold, after his death, by the Anderson Galleries in November 1934.[38] The well-known New York bookseller Gabriel Wells (1861–1946) purchased it at that sale (lot 289 for $9750) and sold it on soon afterwards to the English bookselling firm W.H. Robinson Ltd. Our First Folio therefore crossed the Atlantic again and returned to London.

By early 1937 the First Folio had been acquired from Robinson by H. Harvey Frost. It was Frost's copies of the First, Second, and Fourth Folios that Pettigrew arranged to sell through Days Booksellers, at which time the First Folio (with the other three seventeenth-century folio editions) made its final journey across the Atlantic, this time to Canada, to become part of the remarkable collection of Shakespeariana being assembled in Montreal by Sidney Fisher.

The First Folio Title Page and Portrait

In Sotheby's annotated copy of the first known published description of our copy of the First Folio, in the Sotheby, Wilkinson & Hodge catalogue of the March 1883 sale, it is described as 'wants title, sold therefore not subject to collation', meaning in effect that the purchaser was buying it 'as is'. A note handwritten below 'wants title', added '& wants verses'(meaning the poem by Ben Jonson which appears opposite the title page).[39] It was certainly far from being one of the most important books of the four-day sale of the 1660 items from the Drake library. The First Folio was sold on the

To the Reader.

This Figure, that thou here ſeeſt put,
It vvas for gentle Shakeſpeare cut;
Wherein the Grauer had a ſtrife
with Nature, to out-doo the life:
O, could he but haue drawne his wit
As well in braſſe, as he hath hit
His face; the Print would then ſurpaſſe
All, that vvas euer vvrit in braſſe.
But, ſince he cannot, Reader, looke
Not on his Picture, but his Booke.

B. I.

Mr. WILLIAM

SHAKESPEARES

COMEDIES, HISTORIES, & TRAGEDIES.

Publiſhed according to the True Originall Copies.

LONDON

Printed by Iſaac Iaggard, and Ed. Blount. 1623.

Archbp. M. A. de Dominis, autograph of "De St. Germain" Londra, 1619 0 15 0

238 Scot (R.) Discovery of Witchcraft with Discourse of Devils and Spirits, 2 vols. in 1, *calf* 1665 4 0 0

239 Shakespeares (Mr. William) Comedies, Histories and Tragedies, first edition, *very large copy* (13¼ *inches by* 8¼) *wants title and verses, calf* 1623 200 0 0

22196 ——— the same, first edition, folio, QUITE PERFECT, *with the exception of the portrait and verses in exact facsimile, a very fine tall copy of unusual size, measuring* 13⅛ *by* 8⅜ *inches, russia, from the Drake library, with book-plate of John Lloyd* £300. 1623

Quaritch catalogue descriptions of the Fisher First Folio in 1883 and 1884.

fourth and final day, as one of the last lots, and fetched only £150 out of the total realized for the entire sale of £3276.[40] Just one month later it appears in Quaritch's Rough List No. 64,41 still wanting the title and verses, now priced at £200. By the time Quaritch included it the following year in his *General Catalogue* it was described as 'Quite perfect, with the exception of the portrait and verses in exact facsimile' and is now priced at £300.[42]

The fact that a copy of the First Folio lacked its title page was not unusual. Quaritch routinely had First Folios for sale at this period and many had title pages and other leaves supplied in facsimile. For example, in the same 1884 *General Catalogue* that described our copy, he had two other copies for sale, only one of which had an original title leaf and was therefore priced at £880, considerably higher than our copy.[43] Many copies of the First Folio are defective, and the pages most commonly lost or damaged are the ones at the beginning and the end of the book. The title page in particular was subject to removal, because it contained the highly desirable engraved portrait by Martin Droeshout (b. 1601), still considered to be one of the only authentic likenesses of Shakespeare. Furthermore, the title leaf was printed as a single sheet not conjugate with another leaf which would also become detached if the title page were removed. It was therefore relatively easy to remove and replace, because it could simply be attached to the existing stub and inserted into the preliminary gathering. In the nineteenth century there was a flourishing trade in facsimiles to make up defective copies. On the page of the 1884 catalogue following the description of our copy of the First Folio, Quaritch advertises facsimile First Folio title pages for 4 pounds 4 shillings each. As late as the 1930s Quaritch was still advertising First Folio facsimile title pages on paper 'specially handmade in close imitation of the original' for sale on the back cover of their catalogue.[44]

Quaritch, like other booksellers, was proud to state in his catalogues that certain title page facsimiles in copies of the First Folio on sale were by 'Mr. Harris', referring to the exceptionally skilled miniature painter and facsimilist John Harris (1791–1873). Harris (whose father was also John Harris, and also an artist) had a long career, discovering a talent early on for creating facsimiles of early manuscript leaves. He began by working for private clients with important collections, such as Lord Spencer, in 'perfecting' their copies of early printed books and manuscripts. He did this by hand, and so skillfully that even he later had difficulty distinguishing his own hand-drawn copies from the original. About 1820 Harris began to work for the British Museum and remained there for the next thirty years, until his sight began to decline. Examples of his hand-drawn facsimiles were on display at the Great Exhibition in 1851, and he described his method in the Juries report. He mentions that in addition to producing hand-drawn facsimile leaves he has 'within the last 10 or 12 years had recourse to lithography, producing the tracing on to the stone, and finishing up the letters on the same: this has been beneficial, particularly when more than one copy was wanted'.[45] By this time Harris was unable to work due to his blindness and in 1858 an advertisement was placed in *Notes and Queries* by his friends with the aim of soliciting donations to establish an annuity for his support.[46] However by at least the 1870s his less skilled and virtually unknown son, the third John Harris, was creating lithographic facsimiles for Quaritch'.[47]

The facsimile title page and facing page of verses by Ben Jonson in the Fisher First Folio have sometimes been attributed to the famous John Harris who was associated with the British Museum. It is notable though that Quaritch, who supplied facsimiles in 1884, did not ascribe them to Harris or any specific maker. The title page had a further history. According to his own report, when Thacher acquired the folio he 'improved it by an original portrait but the legend below is fac-simile'.[48] It is possible for a skilled conservator to insert an authentic portrait, excised at some point in its history from an original title page, into the centre of a typographic facsimile title page, and this is evidently what Thacher claims he did. However, according to a 1934 auction catalogue entry, the folio's subsequent owner, Beverley Chew, replaced Thacher's improved facsimile page with a 'facsimile by Harris'.[49] This and later claims that the facsimile title or verses pages might be Harris's work have not been supported by either Kenneth Maggs' opinion in 1955 or a recent examination of both pages. Apart from these two pages our copy is complete and original, or in Quaritch's words in 1884, 'quite perfect'.

Acknowledgements

Sidney and Charles Fisher's extraordinary gift in 1973 was perhaps the single most important donation ever received by the Fisher Library. At that time the collections numbered less than a hundred thousand volumes and they have now grown to almost 750,000 volumes. The exponential growth in the next decades was primarily the result of expanding book budgets, but was also, and still is, made possible through gifts of books and manuscripts, and the financial contributions of many thousands of individuals.

We are grateful to the Friends of Fisher for their ongoing support of our exhibition program which makes it possible to issue published catalogues for all of our exhibitions. This 2016 Shakespeare anniversary catalogue and exhibition attracted considerable special interest and it is thanks to three of our donors, who are also Friends of Fisher, that we have been able to produce such a splendid large format catalogue with an extended print run. The publication is thoughtfully and elegantly designed by Stan Bevington of Coach House Press. Mark Andrews, serious collector in the field of the history of engineering, has supported the cost of the trade edition through his company Andrews Infrastructure. The universal love of books can bind topics even as diverse as Shakespeare and engineering. Although they would seem to have little in common, in chapter four Scott Schofield makes reference to the famous book wheel image from Ramelli's *Le diverse et artificiose machine*. We were able to include the image from both the original French edition of 1588, from Mark's own collection, as well as the re-engraved version from the 1620 German edition, recently acquired by the Library through the generosity of Malcolm Graham. Janet Dewan and Barbara Tangney have made it possible for us to issue a separate limited edition of the catalogue. Their donation is made in memory of their parents Marian F.K. Ade and Harry F.M. Ade, who were long-time members of the Friends of Fisher and lovers of Shakespeare. Printed on large paper, with an additional letterpress insert, and bound in hard cover, the limited edition is issued in a numbered edition of one hundred copies.

I am also personally indebted to Janet and Barbara for the great interest they have taken in the Fisher First Folio. It was during a lunch at the time of the loan of our First Folio to the Stratford Festival in August 2014 that we first began to speculate about some of the gaps in the knowledge of our copy. Janet began to collate the current information available and to identify discrepancies and areas that required further research, working closely with her sister and me, and with my colleagues at the Fisher Library, Philip Oldfield and Pearce Carefoote. While some puzzles still remain and perhaps always will, the fruits of Janet's persistence and single-minded commitment to finding answers have greatly enriched the account of the provenance and description of our copy of the First Folio as outlined above, and prevented many inaccuracies. I am grateful to Peter Blayney and Marie Korey who have shared their expertise and their personal research files, and provided welcome advice and guidance. I also wish to acknowledge the enormous benefit I received from working closely for more than twenty years with former Director Richard Landon. His deep and wide-ranging knowledge, and his love of books and book culture, is evident in his own account of the four Fisher folios, in the exhibition catalogue celebrating the first fifty years of the department of rare books and special collections in the Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library.[50] Any errors that may remain rest entirely with me.

It has been a true pleasure for me to have the opportunity to contribute to this exhibition and catalogue, working with the Chair of the Exhibitions Committee Pearce Carefoote, Fisher conservator Linda Joy, and many other of my colleagues in the department of rare books and special collections, as well as our photographer Paul Armstrong, and Stan Bevington and his team at Coach House Press. Our thanks go to the Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies and Massey College at the University of Toronto for loans of three items. We are also grateful to the Folger Shakespeare Library and the Huntington Library for supplying high resolution images of items from their collections, and for permission to publish. Finally, I wish to give my heartfelt thanks to Scott Schofield, the initiator and general editor of this project and to Peter Blayney, Alan Galey, and Marjorie Rubright, for so generously giving of their expertise, creativity and passion to this project.

Anne Dondertman
Associate Chief Librarian for Special Collections and
Director, Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library

To the great Variety of Readers.

FRom the moſt able, to him that can but ſpell: There you are number'd. We had rather you were weighd. Eſpecially, when the fate of all Bookes depends vpon your capacities: and not of your heads alone, but of your purſes. Well! It is now publique, & you wil ſtand for your priuiledges wee know: to read, and cenſure. Do ſo, but buy it firſt. That doth beſt commend a Booke, the Stationer ſaies. Then, how odde ſoeuer your braines be, or your wiſedomes, make your licence the ſame, and ſpare not. Iudge your ſixe-pen'orth, your ſhillings worth, your fiue ſhillings worth at a time, or higher, ſo you riſe to the iuſt rates, and welcome. But, what euer you do, Buy. Cenſure will not driue a Trade, or make the Iacke go. And though you be a Magiſtrate of wit, and ſit on the Stage at *Black-Friers*, or the *Cock-pit*, to arraigne Playes dailie, know, theſe Playes haue had their triall alreadie, and ſtood out all Appeales; and do now come forth quitted rather by a Decree of Court, then any purchas'd Letters of commendation.

It had bene a thing, we confeſſe, worthie to haue bene wiſhed, that the Author himſelfe had liu'd to haue ſet forth, and ouerſeen his owne writings; But ſince it hath bin ordain'd otherwiſe, and he by death departed from that right, we pray you do not envie his Friends, the office of their care, and paine, to haue collected & publiſh'd them; and ſo to haue publiſh'd them, as where (before) you were abus'd with diuerſe ſtolne, and ſurreptitious copies, maimed, and deformed by the frauds and ſtealthes of iniurious impoſtors, that expos'd them: euen thoſe, are now offer'd to your view cur'd, and perfect of their limbes; and all the reſt, abſolute in their numbers, as he conceiued thē. Who, as he was a happie imitator of Nature, was a moſt gentle expreſſer of it. His mind and hand went together: And what he thought, he vttered with that eaſineſſe, that wee haue ſcarſe receiued from him a blot in his papers. But it is not our prouince, who onely gather his works, and giue them you, to praiſe him. It is yours that reade him. And there we hope, to your diuers capacities, you will finde enough, both to draw, and hold you: for his wit can no more lie hid, then it could be loſt. Reade him, therefore; and againe, and againe: And if then you doe not like him, ſurely you are in ſome manifeſt danger, not to vnderſtand him. And ſo we leaue you to other of his Friends, whom if you need, can bee your guides: if you neede them not, you can leade your ſelues, and others. And ſuch Readers we wiſh him.

John Heminge.
Henrie Condell.

In the preliminaries, after dedicating the book to the Herbert brothers (the Earls of Pembroke and Montgomery), Shakespeare's fellow players Heminge and Condell address potential readers and encourage them to buy it.

CHAPTER ONE

The Publication of Shakespeare

PETER W. M. BLAYNEY

When William Shakespeare died in 1616, fewer than half the plays now accepted as either partly or wholly his had been published at all. His best-selling publication to date had been his first: the narrative poem *Venus and Adonis* (1593), which had been printed at least ten times and would be reprinted yet again in 1617. His other long poem (*The Rape of Lucrece*, 1594) had seen at least five editions, but the sixth (1616) may not have reached the bookshops before he died.

Shakespeare himself was actively involved in publishing both works, each of which included a dedication to Henry Wriothesley, Earl of Southampton (1573–1624). The first was registered for publication by the printer Richard Field (1561–1624), a Stratford native only two and a half years older than Shakespeare. But although Field was the only book-trader named on the first edition of *Venus and Adonis*, the only address mentioned was that of John Harrison senior (1523?–1616) and in 1594 Harrison bought Field's rights to that book and registered *Lucrece* for himself. Although Harrison hired Field to print the first edition of *Lucrece* and the next three of *Venus and Adonis*, the widespread belief that Field and Shakespeare remained lifelong friends is no more than a guess. After 1596 the only known connection between them is a tenuous one: Field was the anonymous printer hired in 1601 by Edward Blount (1562–1632) to print *Loves's Martyr* by Robert Chester (1566–1640), which includes Shakespeare's poem *The Phoenix and the Turtle*. And in a career of thirty-six years, Field never printed a single play.

Playbooks constituted only a small percentage of the early modern book trade, and the Victorian belief that some publishers would stop at nothing to acquire plays to rush into print for their eager customers is a myth. For example, when the stock of the York bookseller John Foster was valued after his death in 1616, the inventory listed nearly 3,200 printed books (most identified by title). But only two of the entries concerned playbooks: a single bound copy of the recently published folio *Workes of Benjamin Jonson* valued at ten shillings, and 'Twenty-seaven Play bookes, of sortes' worth fourpence each, whose titles the appraisers did not consider worth recording.

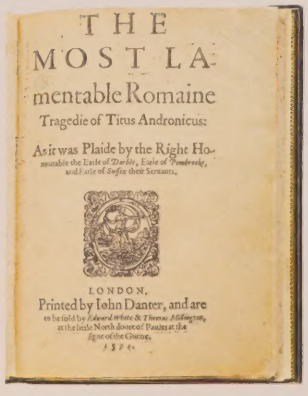
Within that small sector of the trade, however, Shakespeare had been the best-selling playwright. Of the thirty-six plays that would eventually be collected in the First Folio, seventeen had been published separately as quartos during his lifetime.[1] A 'quarto', such as the one illustrated here, was a book made up of printed sheets that had each been folded into four leaves (and so contained eight pages of text). Plays, which typically contained between seventy and a hundred pages of text, were usually printed on 'pot' paper (many varieties being watermarked with a picture of a pot), with leaves that measured about 19 × 15 cm. before they were cropped by binders (often to as little as 17 x 11 cm. or even less).

Three of Shakespeare's quartos were among the best-selling plays of their day: *Henry IV, Part 1* with six editions, and both *Richard II* and *Richard III* with five each. But it is also true that by 1616, eight of them had not yet been reprinted at all. Most were printed from more or less trustworthy manuscripts, but a few seem to have been substantially corrupted — perhaps largely reconstructed from memory, or garbled in one or more ways that are beyond confident diagnosis. Two of those so-called 'Bad Quartos' were subsequently replaced by superior ones, and Shakespeare himself may have played a part in supplying the better manuscripts. But while Lukas Erne is probably right to question the tradition that Shakespeare was largely indifferent to the publication of his plays,[2] it remains a fact that none was printed with an authorial address or dedication, or from a manuscript prepared for the press with the same care as those of the narrative poems.

A Collection is Planned

In early 1619 the Stationer Thomas Pavier (1576?–1625) decided to publish a quarto collection of plays by (or associated with) Shakespeare. He already owned the rights to one 'Good' quarto, four 'Bad' ones, and one wrongly attributed to Shakespeare on its title-page. It is impossible to know whether any other Stationers were involved from the beginning, or exactly how many plays Pavier originally intended to include, because his plans were seriously disrupted in early May.

Pavier's chosen printer was William Jaggard (1567?–1623), who held a monopoly for printing playbills and was therefore known to the principal acting companies. The usual way of assigning responsibility for an early modern book is to describe it as printed *by* the printer *for* the publisher, so it is often wrongly assumed that the printer, named first, was the instigator. But the first four plays in the 1619 collection describe themselves only as printed 'for *T. P.*', so there is no reason to suppose that Jaggard's initial role went


THE
MOST LA-
mentable Romaine
Tragedie of Titus Andronicus:
As it was Plaide by the Right Ho-
nourable the Earle of Darbie, Earle of Pembrooke,
and Earle of Sussex their Seruants.
LONDON,
Printed by Iohn Danter, and are
to be sold by Edward white & Thomas Millington,
at the little North doore of Paules at the
signe of the Gunne.
1594.

Before 1623, all Shakespeare's plays that had been published had appeared individually as 'quartos' — books whose leaves were a quarter the size of so-called 'pot' paper. Before 1598, no play-quarto had yet named Shakespeare on its title page. This is the only surviving copy of the first edition of *Titus Andronicus*, discovered in Sweden in 1904 and now in the Folger Shakespeare Library.

beyond that of hired printer. In 1604–5 he had briefly been Pavier's favourite printer (for seven books out of fourteen), but had since been hired by him only twice, in 1607 and 1610. There is no evidence of a special relationship in the decade before 1619.

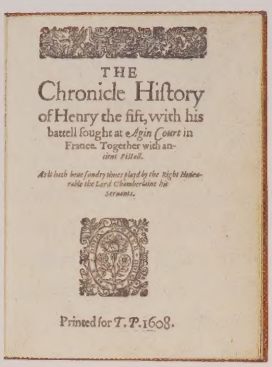
The work began with the 'Bad' texts of what are now known as *Henry VI, Parts 2 and 3*, sharing a single title-page as *The Whole Contention between the Houses of Lancaster and York*. That title-page includes the first known attribution of those plays to Shakespeare. Next came *Pericles*: a problematic text in which both serious corruption and shared authorship are believed to be mixed, and whose ownership in 1619 is impossible to deduce. The fourth play was unquestionably Pavier's, and had been ascribed to Shakespeare both in the Stationers' Register and on the original title-page of 1608 — although few scholars have argued that *A Yorkshire Tragedy* belongs in the canon. At this point, however, a serious problem arose.

When James VI (1566–1625) came to the throne, the acting company to which Shakespeare belonged had acquired him as their patron, changing their name from the Chamberlain's Men to the King's Men. In March 1619 their royal patent was renewed, and soon afterwards they made a complaint to the current Lord Chamberlain, the Earl of Pembroke (1580–1630). They claimed that the Stationers who owned rights to some of 'their' plays (for which they had paid 'very dear and high rates' for the king's service) had greatly prejudiced them (the players) and injured and disgraced the authors by corrupting the texts. Pembroke therefore wrote to the Stationers' Company, ordering that none of the King's Men's plays should thereafter be printed without the players' consent. The Stationers could hardly refuse, so whatever their elected officials actually thought of Pembroke's letter, on 3 May an order to that effect was duly issued.

'Copyright' as we know it today did not exist before the eighteenth century. When early modern players bought a script from a playwright they naturally wanted sole right to perform it, and for the most part the principal companies declined to poach from each other's repertories. Likewise, most Stationers usually respected the publication rights that the Company granted their fellow freemen. But this new order would have justifiably infuriated any Stationer who owned lifetime publication rights to a play whose script was owned by the King's Men. It could not be seriously argued that publishing a play would discourage playgoers from seeing it performed, so the players could only be 'prejudiced' by a Stationer's rights if they themselves wanted to publish it — and they were no more entitled to do that than the Stationers were to perform it.

Pavier must have resented the idea that a mere player could decide whether or not he could reprint his own property. We cannot know whether any other play-owning Stationers were already partners in his venture, or whether some joined it as a means of protesting. But most of the six remaining plays were printed with false dates, two with false names, and it was now clearly intended that some copies be sold as separate items as well as in collection.

The rights to *The Merchant of Venice* and *A Midsummer Night's Dream* were both derelict, nobody yet having asked (and paid) for them since the original publishers died. Both were now reprinted with title-pages claiming them as the work of James Roberts (who really had printed the original *Merchant of Venice*) and dated 1600 in imitation of the first editions. Roberts had sold his printing house to Jaggard in 1606, assigned nine specific copies to him in 1615, and recently died. That did not give Jaggard the rights to any other ex-Roberts books, but he seems to have assumed that it did, and the two 'Roberts' plays may have been Jaggard's own contribution to what was now a gesture of defiance.


THE
Chronicle Hiſtory
of Henry the fift, with his
battell fought at Agin Court in
France. Together with an-
cient Piſtoll.
As it hath beene ſundry times playd by the right Honor-
able the Lord Chamberlaine his
ſeruants.
Printed for T. P. 1608.

The 'Pavier Quarto' of Shakespeare's *Henry V*, printed in 1619 with a false date. Reprinted from the 'Bad Quarto' of 1600, this edition probably 'should' have used that date. But it was printed immediately after *King Lear*, which was dated 1608 to imitate its own first edition. The compositor correctly altered the *words* of the title page, but forgot to change the date.

Two plays were then reprinted in the names of their actual owners, Arthur Johnson, (the 'Bad' *Merry Wives of Windsor*, correctly dated 1619) and Nathaniel Butter (*King Lear*, dated 1608 in imitation of the first edition). I see no reason to doubt that the reprints really *were* printed for them, as partners in the protest. The last two plays belonged to Pavier himself and, while falsely dated, do display his initials. *Henry V* (another 'Bad' quarto, not attributed to Shakespeare until 1623) accidentally repeats the 1608 date from *King Lear* instead of its original date of 1600; *Sir John Oldcastle* (which never belonged to the Chamberlain's or King's Men) was not only dated 1600 but also misattributed to Shakespeare for the first time.

Despite the varying dates and imprints, some copies of what are now usually called 'the Pavier Quartos' were bound together and sold as a miscellany of ten plays (although lacking the general title and preliminaries that were probably once intended). A few such volumes survived in that form into comparatively modern times, although only one set now remains in its original binding.[3] But many of the plays were also sold separately, mostly pretending to be unsold copies of earlier editions. As a result they helped exaggerate the seeming contemporary demand for Shakespeare's quartos, more than doubling the number that *appeared* to have been printed twice in a single year.

The First Folio

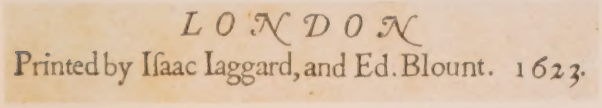
If the players' complaint of 1619 was prompted by thoughts of commissioning their own Shakespeare collection, they made no visible progress for several years. Perhaps they realized that such a project would be a distinctly risky one, and that even if it succeeded their own rewards would be comparatively small.

To be practical, a collection of more than two dozen plays would need to be printed in folio: a book made up of sheets folded only once, so that the leaves were twice the size of those of a quarto. During the 1530s a handful of early plays

had been individually printed in folio, but before 1616 no play written for the Elizabethan or Jacobean stage had ever appeared in that format, which was usually considered more appropriate for serious and substantial writings. In that year Ben Jonson (1572–1637) had included nine plays in his folio *Workes* (and so was teased for not knowing work from play).[4] But the Jonson folio would not be reprinted until 1640, so in the 1620s its ultimate success was unpredictable. Nobody had ever taken the greater risk of a folio collection consisting *only* of plays. No publisher, therefore, would want to pay unusually much for the texts themselves — nearly half of which already belonged to Stationers who would need to be compensated, either in cash or by becoming partners in the venture.

By 1622, however, one Stationer had taken the idea seriously, though whether independently or persuaded by the players is unknown. William Jaggard's son Isaac had become a freeman of the Stationers in 1613 at the age of eighteen (not quite legally, the age of majority being twenty-one). His father had recently lost his sight, but although Isaac undoubtedly helped to run the printing house thereafter, William remained firmly in charge until his death. Isaac was named on only four books printed by the house between 1614 and 1622 (one of them a play-quarto), William's name or initials appeared on fifty-three. In mid-1622, when London publishers submitted the titles of their best new and forthcoming books for the catalogue of the Autumn Book Fair in Frankfurt, the Jaggards listed three large books on which they were working. Two were works of heraldry (Vincent's *Discoverie of Errours* and Favyn's *Theater of Honour and Knighthood*) described as 'printed by *William Iaggard* in fol.'; the third was 'Playes, written by M. *William Shakespeare*, all in one volume, printed by *Isaack Iaggard*, in fol.'.

Isaac could probably not have financed the project without assistance, but he somehow persuaded a far wealthier and more experienced Stationer to join him. Edward Blount (aged sixty) was one of the most respected and influential liverymen in the Stationers' Company, and not a man usually associated with plays from the professional theatres. He had admittedly registered both *Pericles* and *Antony and Cleopatra* in 1608, but had never published them, and is not known to have complained when *Pericles* was published by others in 1609, 1611, and 1619. Once involved he became the principal investor, and when the completed Folio was advertised in the catalogue for the Spring Fair at Frankfurt in 1624, it was listed as 'Master *William Shakesperes* workes, printed for *Edward Blount*, in fol.'. On the title-page itself, however (where 'Printed by' would have been more accurately expressed as 'Printed for' or 'Published by'), the names are given in the order 'Isaac Iaggard, and Ed. Blount'.


LONDON
Printed by Iſaac Iaggard, and Ed. Blount. 1623.

The wording of the First Folio imprint is potentially misleading. Edward Blount was never a printer, and Isaac had only just succeeded his father as the head of the Jaggard printing house. 'Printed by' here means '*Published* by', or 'Printing arranged and financed by'. Jaggard was probably named first because he initiated the venture; the older and wealthier Blount was undoubtedly the principal shareholder.

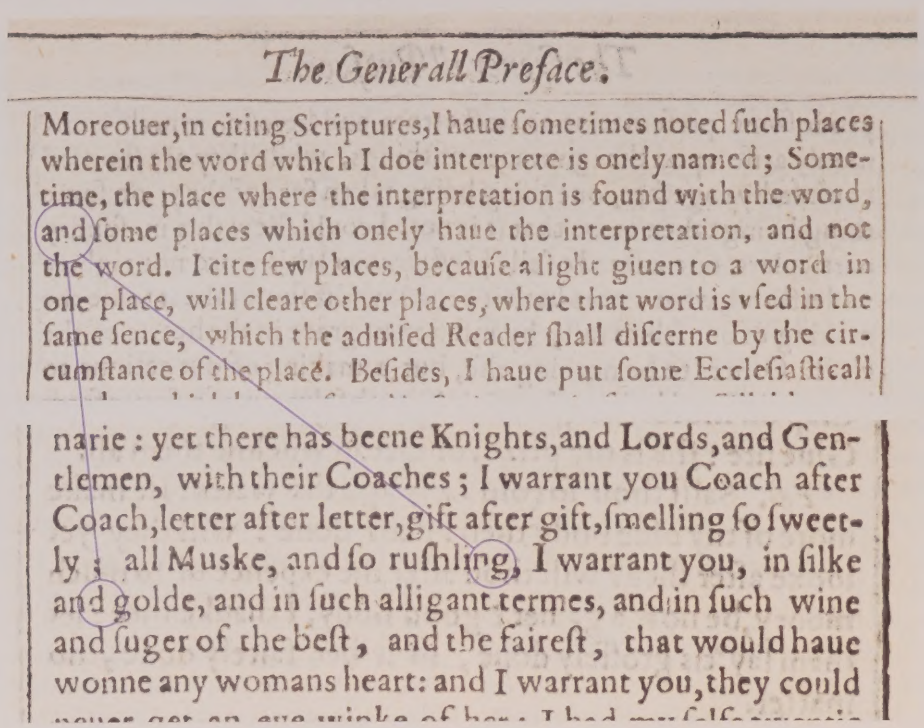
The King's Men had comparatively little to gain from the project financially. Royalty contracts were extremely rare at this date, and the players probably received nothing from any edition after the first. They were presumably paid something for each play that was to be printed for the first time, but probably no more than a pound or two. Of the plays that had been printed before only two were derelict and could be reprinted with impunity; for the rest, there were nine other publishers to negotiate with. Some of them evidently sold their rights to the Folio publishers, either outright or (initially at least) for a single edition. One was Thomas Pavier, who owned four plays and had become a close friend: in March 1623 William Jaggard named him a supervisor of his will. Four Stationers who owned single plays seem likewise to have sold or leased their rights, while John Smethwick (four plays) and William Aspley (two) chose rather to become partners in the investment (presumably with a ninth and an eighteenth share respectively). Both were consequently named on the final page among those at whose '*Charges*' the book was printed. But later events suggest that when the printing began there were still two play-owners with whom the Folio publishers had not yet reached agreement.

The players, however, did more than simply provide manuscript copy for the hitherto-unprinted plays. Not only did they supply better texts for the plays that had been printed as 'Bad' quartos but they also annotated some of the 'Good' quartos, both correcting errors and making revisions to bring the texts closer to the versions currently being performed. The results were not always improvements: for a few plays modern editors usually prefer to work from the quarto texts, and the Folio editing was far from meticulous. For example, the second quarto of *Titus Andronicus* (1600) had been set from a copy of the first (1594) that was missing the foot of the final leaf. Instead of seeking out an intact copy, someone in the printing house made up several lines to fill the first gap, and invented a five-line ending where in fact only one line was missing. The Folio text includes a complete new scene in Act III that may perhaps be a Shakespearean afterthought, but leaves the spurious passages at the end of the play unchanged.

The Printing of the Comedies and Histories

Because of its literary importance, the First Folio has been very intensively studied. Thanks to the pioneering work of E. E. Willoughby (1899–1959), the more precise analysis of John W. Shroeder (1925–2011), and the exhaustive scrutiny of Charlton K. Hinman (1911–1977), an immense amount is now known about its progress through the Jaggard printing house, both accompanied and sometimes interrupted by some of the books discussed elsewhere in this catalogue.

Work began in early 1622, when Jaggard was busy with two other books. The third edition of *A Christian Dictionary* by Thomas Wilson (1563–1622) was nearly finished; *A Discoverie of Errours* by Augustine Vincent (1584?–1626) had been started in October 1621 and was being treated as more important. In 1619 Jaggard had printed a book of heraldry by Ralph Brooke (1553–1625). A frequent critic of the work of others, Brooke was disliked by his fellow heralds, who soon realized that his own book was full of errors. In 1621 he


The Generall Preface.

Moreouer, in citing Scriptures, I haue ſometimes noted ſuch places wherein the word which I doe interprete is onely named; Sometime, the place where the interpretation is found with the word, and ſome places which onely haue the interpretation, and not the word. I cite few places, becauſe a light giuen to a word in one place, will cleare other places, where that word is vſed in the ſame ſence, which the aduiſed Reader ſhall diſcerne by the circumſtance of the place. Beſides, I haue put ſome Eccleſiaſticall

narie: yet there has beene Knights, and Lords, and Gentlemen, with their Coaches; I warrant you Coach after Coach, letter after letter, gift after gift, ſmelling ſo ſweetly; all Muske, and ſo ruſhling, I warrant you, in ſilke and golde, and in ſuch alligant termes, and in ſuch wine and ſuger of the beſt, and the faireſt, that would haue wonne any womans heart: and I warrant you, they could

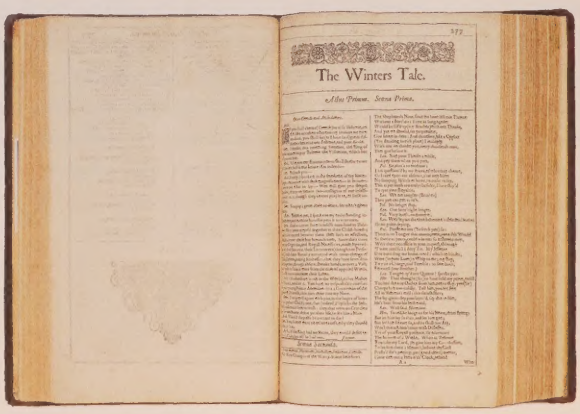
Two adjacent types damaged during the printing of a page of Wilson's *Christian Dictionary* reappear in page 45 of the Folio Comedies. An exhaustive study of evidence of this kind enabled Charlton Hinman to reconstruct the printing of the Folio (and its printing-house siblings) in considerable detail.

persuaded another printer to rush out a new edition to correct the mistakes he already knew about. Since 200 copies of Jaggard's edition were still unsold, this was a serious professional discourtesy, compounded by a preface in which Brooke blamed most of the errors on Jaggard and his blindness. Vincent was a friend of Jaggard's, and had compiled a far more extensive list of Brooke's inaccuracies. For both author and printer, then, finishing *A Discoverie of Errours* was a personal matter.

Vincent's book was mostly set in the larger of Jaggard's most frequently used fonts of type; the Folio and Wilson's *Dictionary* in the smaller. As was customary, the last parts of Wilson's book to be set were the preliminaries: the title-page, dedication, and prefatory material. In one page of the preface, Hinman found two adjacent types that are intact in some copies but damaged in others, and must therefore have been damaged while that page was being printed. In the Folio, those damaged types first appear in page 45 of the Comedies, then in pages 47, 52 and so on. Using evidence of this and other kinds, Hinman was able to reconstruct the printing of the Folio in considerable detail.

For the most part, the book consists of twelve-page sections or 'quires', each containing three sheets of paper folded together to make six leaves and then stitched to the spine. Because the supply of type was limited, in each quire pages 6 and 7 were usually set first. This required someone to 'cast off' pages 1–5: to calculate how much text would fill each of those pages. That was not always an easy task, but starting with any other pair of pages would make it necessary to cast off *more* than five. So while the press printed pages 6 and 7 on one side, pages 5 and 8 were set to be printed on the other side of those sheets. While they were being printed pages 6 and 7 were distributed back into the typecases, and then pages 4 and 9 were set while 5 and 8 were being printed, and so on. But while no quire had its twelve pages set in text order, the quires themselves were usually produced in the order in which they are now bound. There are, however, several major exceptions, and they reveal an interesting story.

The quires of the first eleven comedies were produced with no substantial irregularity, but shortly after work began on *All's Well* there was an interruption lasting several weeks. Vincent's *Discoverie* was probably interrupted at the same time as the Folio; so too was *The Theater of Honour and Knighthood* by André Favyn (1560–?) if (as seems likely) that book had already been started. All three of those books were essentially Jaggard projects, but what interrupted them was a paying customer: *The Description of Leicestershire* by


The Winters Tale.

The last page of the quire in which *Twelfth Night* ended was left blank, apparently because the Comedies section was then considered finished. The subsequent addition of *The Winter's Tale* may therefore have been a belated afterthought.

William Burton (1575–1645) was printed by Jaggard for John White (1592?–1651).

When that book was complete, the interrupted quire of *All's Well* was finished. But rather than moving to the next quire the compositors suddenly jumped ahead to the Histories and set the first two quires of *King John*. The reason was almost certainly that the manuscript for the next comedy (*Twelfth Night*) was not immediately available. When that play arrived and was set, it ended on the eleventh page of a quire. But instead of starting a new play on the final page the printers left it blank — suggesting that the Comedies section was now considered finished.

Work then resumed on the Histories, with a quire containing the end of *King John* and the beginning of *Richard II*, but soon the progress was interrupted again. Vincent's *Discoverie* was almost finished, and its preliminaries included a passage set in the same type as the Folio. When the Folio compositors finished that interrupted quire of the Histories, instead of continuing with the rest of *Richard II* they unexpectedly returned to the Comedies, beginning *The Winter's Tale* in a new quire that followed the blank page after *Twelfth Night*. Perhaps this manuscript too had simply been temporarily unavailable. But it is possible that including it was an afterthought, and that if no problem had arisen in the Histories *The Winter's Tale* might have been lost without trace.

A problem, however, there certainly was, and when the compositors finished *The Winter's Tale* and returned to the Histories, instead of continuing with *Richard II* on page 37 they left a gap in the numbering to cover the remainder of that play and the two parts of *Henry IV*, and began setting *Henry V* instead (pages 69–95).

The explanation is almost certainly that the publishers had not yet reached an agreement with Matthew Law (1564?–1629), who owned the rights to *Richard II*, *Henry IV Part 1*, and *Richard III*. These being Shakespeare's three best-selling plays, Law could put a high price on them (and if he knew that work had already begun on *Richard II* the price might have risen). The compositors had set three more complete plays and started on *Henry VI, Part 3*, before they went back to finish *Richard II* and the two parts of *Henry IV* — only to find that instead of the thirty-two pages they had allowed, the missing material filled forty-six. Folio quires have to contain multiples of four pages, so the 'extra' leaf following *Part 2* was used for a hitherto unpublished Epilogue and a list of the *dramatis personae*.

The events at the end of the Histories are reminiscent of the end of the Comedies. When the last complete quire of *Richard III* was finished there were still three and a half pages to set — but the manuscript for the last play in the section was apparently not immediately available, so work began on the Tragedies instead. And after setting nearly ten quires of that section the compositors went back and finished the Histories with the end of *Richard III* and the whole of the hitherto unpublished *Henry VIII*.

In the Tragedies section a new way of working was adopted. A new compositor (known as Compositor E) appears, and it soon becomes apparent that he is less skilled than those who set the Comedies and Histories. About five months before work began on the Tragedies, for the first time in over eight years Jaggard bound a new apprentice. The new compositor of the Tragedies is almost certainly that apprentice: John Leason (b. 1604 ?), son of a Hampshire yeoman, aged about eighteen.

Press-Variants: A Digression

It has been known since the late eighteenth century that the Folio (like most books printed in and before the seventeenth) contains pages in which a few readings differ from copy to copy. That was what prompted Henry Folger (1857–1930) and Emily Folger (1858–1936) to spend four decades acquiring as many copies as possible, so that comparison would eventually reveal *all* the variants. By the time Henry died in 1930 the Folgers owned more than eighty copies, plus numerous part-copies, fragments, and single leaves. In the late 1940s Charlton Hinman began searching them systematically, having devised a 'collator' that allowed the images of two copies of a page to be first superimposed and then viewed in quick alternation to reveal any differences. After collating fifty-five copies he calculated that the chance of *significant* new finds was negligible, and began instead to analyse the typographical evidence that helped him reconstruct the printing of the book in great detail.

Many of the variants Hinman found concern trivial mechanical matters: spaces standing high enough to print, or types standing too high for the adjacent letters to print properly. While someone had to take action to deal with them, such spaces or types could be pushed down without the page being unlocked, and are of no textual significance. About a dozen pages also show purely accidental variation, as when a type was pulled out of a page by the ink-ball (often allowing adjacent letters to slide into the gap). But the Folio contains almost 900 printed pages, and during the printing of 101 of them the presswork was interrupted, the page unlocked, and at least one *deliberate* alteration made to the type. In fifteen of those pages the only change was the correction of a page-number or leaf-signature, but in 86 pages — nearly one page in ten — the text itself was altered.

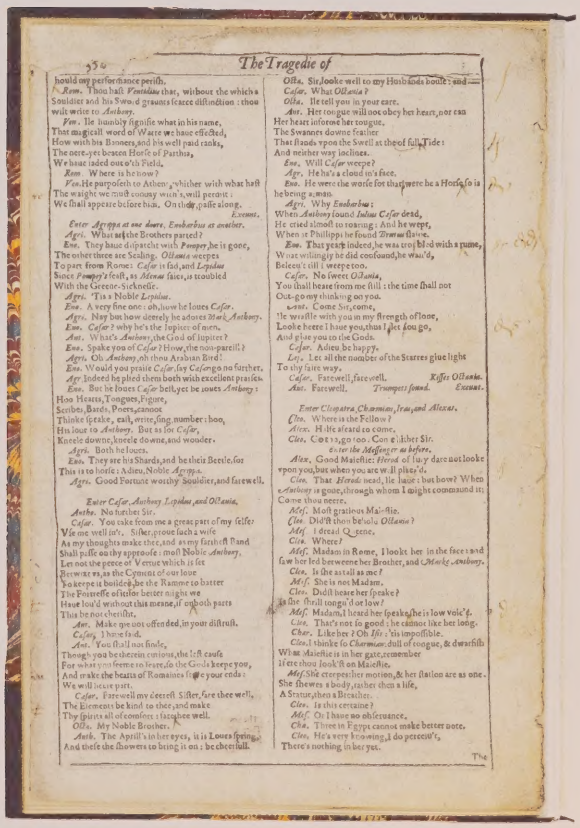
When Hinman's findings first became known, many Shakespeareans (including Hinman) mistakenly concluded that if those pages contained detectable errors when they first went to press, they cannot have been proofread beforehand. So for a few years the scholarly orthodoxy held that when early modern printers worked on 'popular' books (as distinct from works of learning), they never read or corrected proof before the presswork began. Moreover, few of the Folio variants suggested that the original copy had been consulted, and many were evidently bad guesses or sophistications rather than recovered Shakespearean readings. Those studying other printed plays began to find that equally trivial variants were the norm, so they concluded that Shakespeare's printers rarely bothered with careful proofreading at all.

But in most respects, what Hinman found is what should have been expected. Reading a proofsheet against the printer's copy was a fundamental part of printing, always needed and always done before the press-run itself began.

Ideally it should have been done more than once, although in the routine work of a London printer, once was probably considered enough. Ideally, too, it should have eliminated *all* mistakes — but most writers know how easily errors can survive even several stages of careful correction. It was common for a printer to do an occasional spot-check, taking one of the first few copies that came off the press and comparing it with the discarded proofsheet (*not* the printer's copy) to ensure that all the marked corrections had been properly made. If some had been overlooked or bungled, or if he noticed something he thought he could improve, the press would be stopped so that those changes could be made before the run continued. He could not, however, afford to discard all the copies printed before the press had stopped: not only was paper expensive, but if the other side of that sheet was already printed it was no longer possible to print extra copies of it. So when the book was finally assembled for sale, in *some* copies (usually a comparative few) those readings remained uncorrected. Moreover, the sheet on which the stop-press corrections had been marked, if still otherwise clean, was often put back in the heap as being one step better than an unamended copy of the first state. Five such marked-up copies of Folio pages have been found, the best-known being page 352 of *Antony and Cleopatra*.

Since the printer's copy was seldom consulted for stop-press correction, the Folio variants provide almost no useful information about Shakespeare's text. They do, however, add to what we know about the printing of the book. Of the eighty-six pages showing textual alteration, seventeen are in the Comedies, fourteen in the Histories, and eleven in the Tragedies pages set by experienced compositors: a total of forty-two. The remaining forty-four are all in the work of compositor E (almost exactly half the pages he set). His variant pages typically contain more alterations than most others, the errors altered are often more obvious, and he sometimes either miscorrects the right word or 'corrects' the wrong one, leaving the line worse than before. Moreover, the most likely cause of at least a few of his errors (in both variant and invariant pages) is not just hamfisted typesetting but confused miscorrection during the original proofreading.

For example, in a variant page of *Romeo and Juliet*, E corrects the obvious error 'Tuyt, ou' to 'Tut, you'. But when he first set the text, reaching for each type in turn and lining them up in his composing stick, he could hardly have picked them up in the order found in the 'uncorrected' state. Almost certainly, he originally set the wrong letter where the 'y' belonged —a 'q', perhaps, resulting in 'Tut, qou'. Reading against copy before the press-run, the proofreader noticed the error and marked it up. As instructed, Compositor E pulled out the 'q', put it back in the case, and selected a 'y'. But meanwhile the 't', the comma, and the space had tilted into the gap and closed it — so he pushed the 'y' into the only opening he could see. Rather than proving that the page had *not* been proofed before the press-run began, a reading such as 'Tuyt, ou' is evidence suggesting that it *had*.

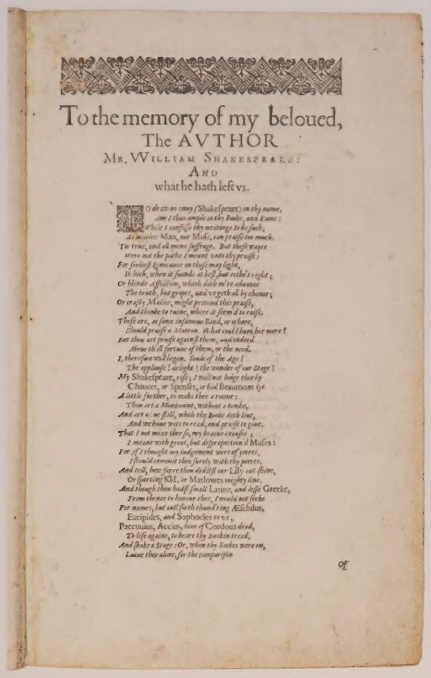


The *Antony and Cleopatra* 'proofsheet' (strictly, only a 'revise') was marked up during the press-run to correct errors (a) that Compositor E had neglected when correcting the first proof, (b) that he had miscorrected, and (c) that the reader had overlooked the first time. After these errors were corrected the marked sheet was put back in the heap, and eventually bound into a copy of the book. Four other marked pages have also survived.

The Printing of the Tragedies

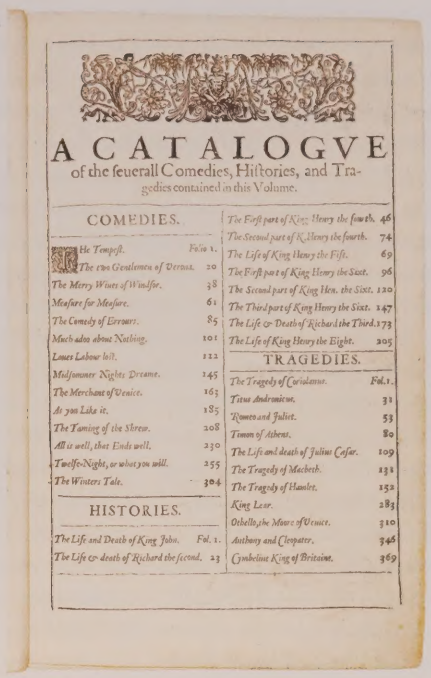
Work on the Tragedies began with *Coriolanus*, never printed before and so necessarily set from manuscript. That was followed by three reprints of printed quartos (*Titus Andronicus*, *Romeo and Juliet*, and *Troilus and Cressida*) before the next two plays from manuscript (*Julius Caesar* and *Macbeth*). So while two more experienced compositors began work on *Coriolanus*, Compositor E was given the easier task of reprinting *Titus* (with occasional help whenever his progress seemed too slow). By the time he reached *Romeo and Juliet* his faster workmates had finished *Coriolanus*, jumped forward and finished *Julius Caesar*, and started on *Macbeth*. He was still working on *Romeo* when they set the first five pages of *Hamlet* before going back to set the whole of *Henry VIII* as the last of the Histories. While they were finishing it, Compositor E reached the quire that was to contain the last five pages of *Romeo* and the first seven of *Troilus and Cressida*. He duly set pages two and three of *Troilus* for one side of a sheet, and then the last page of *Romeo* and the third of *Troilus* for the other side. While that sheet was being printed he started work on the next — and at that point the publishers encountered their biggest problem.

Troilus and Cressida had been printed in 1609, and had probably not sold well. One of the partners who owned it had died, and the survivor, Henry Walley (1587?–1655) probably still owned many unsold copies. Had the Folio publishers been willing to buy them a deal might have been struck,



To the memory of my beloued,
The AVTHOR
MR. WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE:
AND
what he hath left vs.

By far the longest of the commendatory poems prefixed to the volume was Ben Jonson's 80-line encomium (of which this is the first page). Jonson also provided ten lines 'To the Reader', printed to face the title-page portrait.



A CATALOGVE
of the seuerall Comedies, Histories, and Tragedies contained in this Volume.

COMEDIES.

The Tempest. Folio 1.
The two Gentlemen of Verona. 20
The Merry Wiues of Windsor. 38
Measure for Measure. 61
The Comedy of Errours. 85
Much adoe about Nothing. 101
Loues Labour lost. 122
Midsommer Nights Dreame. 145
The Merchant of Venice. 163
As you Like it. 185
The Taming of the Shrew. 208
All is well, that Ends well. 230
Twelfe-Night, or what you will. 255
The Winters Tale. 304

HISTORIES.

The Life and Death of King John. Fol. 1.
The Life & death of Richard the second. 23
The First part of King Henry the fourth. 46
The Second part of K. Henry the fourth. 74
The Life of King Henry the Fift. 69
The First part of King Henry the Sixt. 96
The Second part of King Hen. the Sixt. 120
The Third part of King Henry the Sixt. 147
The Life & Death of Richard the Third. 173
The Life of King Henry the Eight. 205

TRAGEDIES.

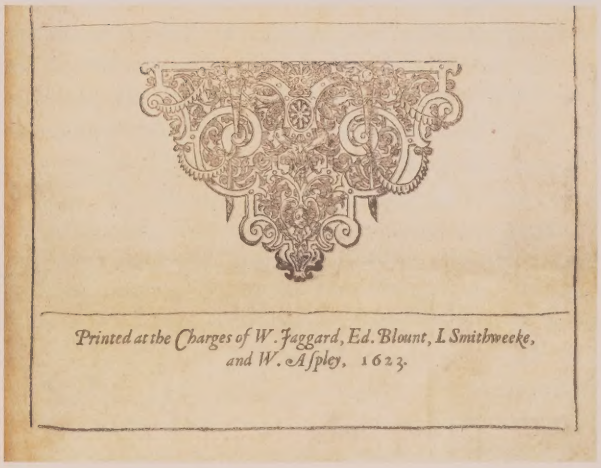
The Tragedy of Coriolanus. Fol. 1.
Titus Andronicus. 31
Romeo and Iuliet. 53
Timon of Athens. 80
The Life and death of Iulius Cæsar. 109
The Tragedy of Macbeth. 131
The Tragedy of Hamlet. 152
King Lear. 283
Othello, the Moore of Venice. 310
Anthony and Cleopater. 346
Cymbeline King of Britaine. 369

The catalogue of plays was printed before the publishers discovered that they could include the previously abandoned Troilus after all. It therefore lists only 35 plays (and in several copies, owners have written '*Troilus and Cressida*' below 'TRAGEDIES').

but there is reason to believe that Walley was difficult to negotiate with. He also owned *The Case is Altered*, which for unknown reasons became the only one of Ben Jonson's previously published plays to be left out of the *Workes* of 1616. Perhaps Walley was simply unwilling to let anyone else reprint 'his' books. But for whatever reason, he must have convinced the Folio publishers that he would never share *Troilus*, because instead of keeping hope alive they gave up. Five pages of *Romeo* remained unprinted, so they had the first four of them printed as a self-contained quire of two leaves, left the gap between that play and *Julius Caesar* unfilled, and went back to finishing *Hamlet*. During these events Compositor E was at last allowed to start setting from manuscript copy.

Not long after the first few pages of *King Lear* had been set, Compositor E continued work on that play by himself while his experienced partner returned to the gap between *Romeo* and *Julius Caesar* and filled it with *Timon of Athens*. That play might anyway have been included towards the end of the book, but it is distinctly possible that if there had been no *Troilus* problem, *Timon* would not have been printed at all.

The remaining Tragedies were printed without significant irregularity. Sometime in late October 1623 the final part-page of *Cymbeline* was finished, below which was set a colophon naming the principal contributors to the venture. William Jaggard, named first, died not long before 4 November. While Isaac had undoubtedly been the instigator, William had owned and run the printing house, and however much of his contribution had been in kind rather than in cash, he must have borne more of the overall costs than his son. Named next is the principal publisher, Edward Blount, followed by the minor partners John Smethwick (1574–1641) and William Aspley (1575?–1640).



Printed at the Charges of W. Iaggard, Ed. Blount, I. Smithweeke, and W. Aspley. 1623.

The colophon below the end of the final play was printed in late October, while William Jaggard was still alive. It names the four men who financed the book, omitting Isaac Jaggard because William still controlled the Jaggards' finances.

The Preliminaries and the Return of *Troilus*

But the book was not yet finished. By now the title-page portrait had probably been printed by the engraver, Martin Droeshout (1565?–1650?). Engraved plates could not be printed on the common press used for the text, and Jaggard is unlikely to have owned a rolling press. An engraver, however, needs to have one for proofing his work as it proceeds. The portrait is printed on a separate half-sheet, and the let-

terpress above and below it was subsequently added by Jaggard. When inserted into the quire for binding, it left only a short stub of its inner edge extending beyond the stitching.

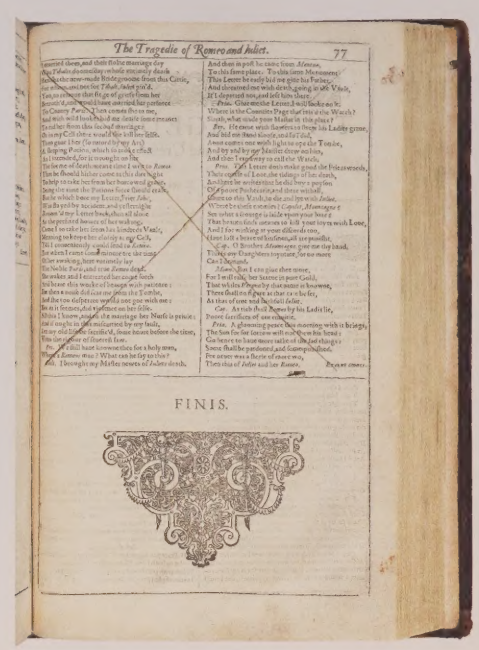
The rest of the preliminary quire would have been set more quickly than a quire of the main text. Four of its pages are blank, two contain only a short poem each, and all the text is set in type substantially larger than that used for the plays. It contains a dedication to the Earls of Pembroke and Montgomery, an address to the readers by the players John Heming (1566–1630) and Henry Condell (1576?–1627), two poems by Ben Jonson and one by Hugh Holland (d.1633), and the 'Catalogue' (reproduced above): a list of the thirty-five plays included.

While that quire was being printed, Blount and Isaac Jaggard (1595–1627) compiled a list of the plays they believed had never been registered, and went to Stationers' Hall to register their claim to them. They must also have paid the clerk to search the entries for the last thirty years to make sure that they had not inadvertently poached someone else's property, so they did not yet pay the eight shillings due for sixteen new entries (or the clerk's own fees for recording and searching). The search revealed three useful facts. First, Blount had apparently forgotten that he already owned *Antony and Cleopatra*, having registered it in 1608. Second, in 1600 *As You Like It* had been provisionally entered by the late James Roberts, whose rights William Jaggard had been treating as his own. William having died before 4 November, his (dubious) claim had passed (no less dubiously) to Isaac, so only fourteen plays had to be paid for: seven shillings instead of eight.

But the the search also revealed that Roberts had provisionally registered *Troilus and Cressida* — six years *before* Henry Walley and his former partner registered it. The Folio publishers were evidently able to use that fact to persuade Walley to change his mind, and so it suddenly became possible to include *Troilus and Cressida* after all.

Some months earlier, the first three pages of *Troilus* had been set by Compositor E and printed on a sheet that began with the final page of *Romeo and Juliet*. That sheet still survived, so to save time the compositors began a new quire with the fourth page of *Troilus*. They *nearly* managed to fit the remainder into two quires, but had to print the last half-page on a separate leaf. While they were working, a few copies of the book were put on sale, 'complete' in containing all thirty-five plays listed in the Catalogue. Most of those copies that survive have had *Troilus* supplied from copies damaged in other ways, but two or three are identifiable.

The new pages of *Troilus* were unnumbered, and it was inserted between the Histories and Tragedies to avoid further disruption to the (already erratic) numbering. The redundant page of *Romeo* now separating *Troilus* from *Henry VIII* was not seen as a serious problem: someone was given the job of crossing out all copies of it to reassure puzzled readers. But *Troilus* had once had a prologue, and when a copy was somehow found the publishers decided that getting rid of the *Romeo* page was worth a little effort. The prologue was therefore printed on yet another single leaf, the beginning of *Troilus* was reprinted on the back of it, and the offending leaf replaced in all unsold copies. Several copies sold before that happened, however, still survive with the



When *Troilus* was reinstated, the discarded sheet in which its first three pages followed *Romeo and Juliet* was rescued and used. The presence of an 'orphaned' page of *Romeo* between *Henry VIII* and *Troilus* was considered only a minor nuisance, curable by having an employee cross it out with a pen. When a *Troilus* prologue was found, that leaf was replaced, but several copies sold before that happened have survived.

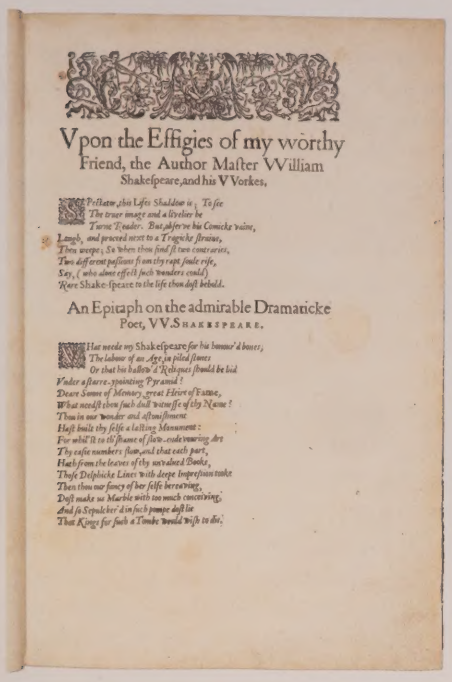
crossed-out *Romeo* page in place.

At some point during this episode, two more short commendatory verses were received. They were printed together on the first page of a single sheet, with a list of 'the Principall Actors in all these Playes' on the third page. In many copies these leaves are now found *after* the main preliminary quire, but they were almost certainly intended to be pasted to the stub of the title-page, before rather than after the Catalogue. What remains uncertain is whether they were inserted before the *Troilus* prologue or at the same time.

We do not know exactly when the book first reached the bookshops, but it was probably not before the plays were registered on 8 November 1623. *Troilus* was probably not started for another few days, and must have taken at least seven working days to complete. The final version of the First Folio probably went on sale soon after William Jaggard's will was proved on 17 November. The price of an unbound copy sold by a Stationer in London was apparently fifteen shillings, while a copy ready-bound in calf with minimal decoration would have cost about one pound (twenty shillings). The first purchase on record was made by Sir Edward Dering (1598–1644) on 5 December, when he bought two copies for two pounds.

The Later Folios

Exactly how many copies of the First Folio were printed is unknown, but is unlikely to have exceeded 750, nearly one-third of which have survived (although the majority are less than complete). But the book sold gratifyingly well for a large folio, and the second edition appeared only nine years later. By then most of the participants had died or assigned their rights to others, and only Aspley and Smethwick



Vpon the Effigies of my worthy
Friend, the Author Master William
Shakespeare, and his VVorkes,

SPectator, this Lifes Shaddow is; To see
The truer image and a livelier be
Turne Reader. But, pbserve his Comicke vaine,
Laugh, and proceed next to a Tragicke strauine,
Then weepe; So when thou find'st two contraries,
Two different passions from thy rapt soule rise,
Say, (who alone effect such wonders could)
Rare Shake-speare to the life thou dost behold.

An Epitaph on the admirable Dramaticke
Poet, VV. SHAKESPEARE.

WHat needs my Shakespeare for his honour'd bones,
The labour of an Age, in piled stones
Or that his hallow'd Reliques should be hid
Vnder a starre-ypointing Pyramid?
Deare Sonne of Memory, great Heire of Fame,
What needst thou such dull witnesse of thy Name?
Thou in our wonder and astonishment
Hast built thy selfe a lasting Monument:
For whil'st to th'shame of slow-endeuouring Art
Thy easie numbers flow, and that each part,
Hath from the leaves of thy unvalued Books,
Those Delphicke Lines with deepe Impression tooke
Then thou our fancy of her selfe bereaving,
Dost make us Marble with too much conceiving,
And so Sepulcher'd in such pompe dost lie
That Kings for such a Tombe would wish to die.

In the Second Folio of 1632, four new poems were added to the preliminaries, including the one shown here. It was the first of John Milton's poems to be published.

remained from the original partnership. Blount's rights (and shop) had passed to Robert Allott (1601?–1635), who was evidently the principal in the 1632 partnership. None of the text was significantly edited, although some obvious errors were corrected, some words and spellings modernized, and some 'irregular' verse tinkered with. But as in most reprints, the compositors introduced as many errors as they cured, and there is nothing to suggest that any of the alterations were made by consulting authoritative sources. The only material added was in the preliminaries, where four new commendatory poems were inserted. One of them — 'An Epitaph on the admirable Dramaticke Poet, W. Shakespeare' — was the first published poem by John Milton (1608–74).

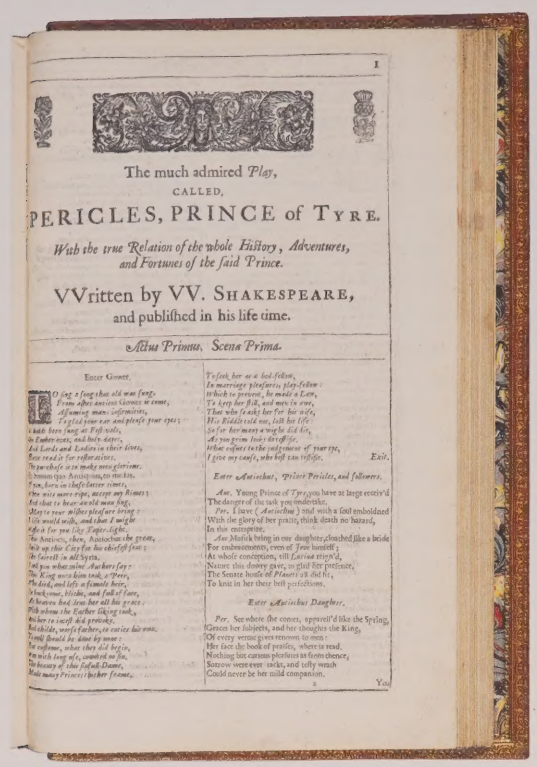
One phenomenon makes leaves from the First and Second Folio easy to distinguish. In 1623 Jaggard's compositors followed the old conventions for the use of i, j, u, and v. Those characters were merely variant shapes of two letters, each of which could represent either a vowel or a consonant. In the old convention the pointed v was used only at the beginning of a word and the rounded u everywhere else, whichever sound they represented ('vniuersity'). Likewise, while i was the usual form of that letter, the tailed j was used only at the end of words or roman numbers ('iustice', Pompeij'). By 1632 the Jaggards' successor had adopted the modern convention, in which i and u are always vowels and j and v always consonants (but there is as yet no capital J or U). The compositors are occasionally inconsistent, but the modern convention always dominates.

The Third Folio is considerably more interesting, and is usually believed to have been issued twice. If so, it was first put on sale with a title-page dated 1663 and only thirty-six plays included. It was published by one Philip Chetwind (not himself a Stationer, but married to Robert Allott's widow) and was the work of three different printing houses. Roger Daniel (fl. 1620–66) printed most of the 227 sheets, but three sections (forty-five sheets) were contributed by a second printer and one section (twenty-one sheets) by a third. The following year, it is claimed, Chetwind had Daniel print seven additional plays to append to the unsold copies, and printed a new title-page dated 1664 to replace the old one. Because the 1664 title included the names of the added plays there was no room for the portrait, which was therefore printed above Ben Jonson's verse on the facing

Ham. Looke heere vpon this Picture, and on this,
The counterfet presentment of two Brothers:
See what a grace was seated on his Brow,
Hyperions curles, the front of Ioue himselfe,
An eye like Mars, to threaten or command
A Station, like the Herald Mercurie
New lighted on a heauen-kissing hill:
A Combination, and a forme indeed,
Where euery God did seeme to set his Seale,
To giue the world assurance of a man.
This was your Husband. Looke you now what followes.
Heere is your Husband, like a Mildew'd eare
Blasting his wholsom breath. Haue you eyes?
Could you on this faire Mountaine leaue to feed,
And batten on this Moore? Ha? Haue you eyes?
You cannot call it Loue: For at your age,
The hey-day in the blood is tame, it's humble,
And waites vpon the Iudgement: and what Iudgement
Would step from this, to this? What diuell was't,
That thus hath cousend you at hoodman-blinde?
O Shame! where is thy Blush? Rebellious Hell,
If thou canst mutine in a Matrons bones,

thunders in the Index.
Ham. Looke heere upon this Picture, and on this,
The counterfet presentment of two brothers:
See what a grace seated on his Brow,
Hyperions curles, the front of Iove himselfe,
An eye like Mars, to threaten or command
A Station, like the Herald Mercury
Now lighted on a heaven-kissing hill:
A Combination, and a forme indeed,
Where every god did seeme to set his Seale,
To give the world assurance of a man.
This was your husband. Looke you now what followes.
Heere is your husband, like a Mildew'd deare
Blasting his wholsome breath. Have you eyes?
Could you on this faire Mountaine leave to feed,
And batten on this Moore? Ha? have you eyes?
You cannot call it Love: For at your age,
The hey-day in the blood is tame, its humble,
And waites upon the Iudgement: and what judgement
Would step from this, to this? What divell was't,
That thus hath cousend you at hoodman-blind?
O Shame! where is thy blush? Rebellious Hell,
If thou canst mutine in a Matrons bones,
To flaming youth let Vertue be as waxe.

These twelve lines from *Hamlet* can easily be identified as from the First Folio by the way they use the letters i, j, u, and v. By the time the Folio was reprinted in 1632, the former Jaggard printing house had adopted (though not *quite* consistently) the modern i/j and u/v conventions.



The much admired *Play*,
CALLED,
PERICLES, PRINCE of TYRE.
With the true Relation of the whole History, Adventures, and Fortunes of the said Prince.
VVritten by VV. SHAKESPEARE,
and published in his life time.
Actus Primus. Scena Prima.

This is the first page of the collection of seven plays (mostly without any credible association with Shakespeare) appended to the Third Folio in 1664. They were reprinted in the Fourth Folio of 1685, but with the exception of *Pericles* have never since been treated as part of the canon.

page to serve as a frontispiece. But most surviving copies of the 1663 title do not have the portrait in the space left for it, which raises serious doubts about whether any copies were really sold in 1663 without the added plays.

The additions are of particular interest. First comes *Pericles*, omitted in 1623 for unknown reasons (perhaps because no 'Good' text could be found) but printed six times in 1609–1635 under Shakespeare's name. With an appended list of the 'Actors' (dramatis personae) it occupies two quires, and is paginated 1–20. Whether or not it ever *was* sold separately, it easily could have been.

The next two plays are *The London Prodigal* (falsely attributed to Shakespeare in the 1605 quarto) and *Thomas Lord Cromwell* (here misattributed for the first time). Each occupies two complete quires, and the first (paged 1–16) could also have been sold separately. But *Cromwell*'s pagination continues from 17 to 32, and its final leaf has *three* lists of 'Actors': one for *The London Prodigal*, one for itself, and one for the play that follows. From that point the pagination is continuous, and there is no attempt to make the remaining plays separable from each other.

The fourth play is *Sir John Oldcastle*, misattributed to Shakespeare in the Pavier Quartos. It is followed by *The Puritan, or The Widow of Watling Street*, attributed in 1607 to 'W. S.' (which was not *necessarily* intended to imply Shakespeare). In sixth place is another former Pavier Quarto: *A Yorkshire Tragedy*, attributed to Shakespeare in both previous editions, and the last is *Locrine*, attributed in 1595 to '*W. S.*' What those initials imply is again uncertain, because no play was published under Shakespeare's name until 1598.

The Third Folio also differs from its predecessors in being much rarer. Chetwind's address in the 1660s is not recorded, but it is likely that he was living in St Paul's Churchyard at the sign of the Black Bear, which had been the address of Edward Blount, Robert Allott, and Chetwind's wife. More than thirty years had elapsed since the Second Folio, so after only two years most copies of the Third would still have been in Chetwind's possession when the Great Fire approached St Paul's. Most of the local booksellers moved all their stock into the church of St Faith (in the crypt below the cathedral choir) for safety, but somehow or other the flames reached them anyway, and once ignited they continued burning for some days after the fire was essentially over.

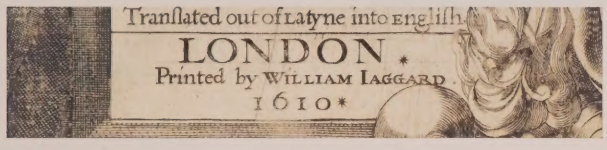
Twenty-one years elapsed before another edition was called for. The Fourth Folio of 1685 is a reprint of the Third (including the seven added plays), and is a larger, more unwieldy, and less attractive book than the previous editions. It was also the last edition to be simply reprinted from its predecessor without explicit editorial intervention, before the eighteenth century ushered in the age of the multi-volume 'scholarly' editions.

CHAPTER TWO

Inside the Premises: William Jaggard and the Intricacies of Printing in Early Seventeenth-Century England

SCOTT SCHOFIELD

While Shakespeare wrote the thirty-six plays that would appear in the First Folio of 1623, it was the collective energies of particular members of the London book trade that led to this now celebrated book being printed and sold to interested buyers in the bookstalls of early modern London.[1] At the forefront of the group of Stationers involved



Imprint from Thomas Milles's *A Catalogue of Honor* (London, 1610).

in the printing of *Mr. William Shakespeare's Comedies, Tragedies & Histories* (London, 1623) was William Jaggard (1568–1623), a printer-publisher who may have been all but forgotten had he not played such a key role in the printing of Shakespeare's plays. I want to take the focus off Shakespeare in this chapter to turn our attention to William Jaggard and the family of Stationers of which he was part. In doing so, I hope to expand our understanding of how plays and the myriad genres of printed books were produced in England in the early seventeenth century.[2]

Before the First Folio: Inside the Premises of William Jaggard

As Peter Blayney has already shown in this catalogue, the printing of the First Folio was not done in isolation. Shakespeare's plays were but one of five books Jaggard was working on in 1622–1623, one book in a decades-long series of ventures on which he was willing to take a risk.[3] While we may now think of Shakespeare when speaking of the First Folio, when we envision its production, it becomes very much *one* of Jaggard's books. Before attempting to reconstruct the space in which the printing of these five imprints occurred, we need to look at the printing process more carefully and examples of the previous work produced by the various Jaggards who were Stationers: William, John, and to a lesser extent, Isaac, Elizabeth, and Dorothy Jaggard.

The books that William Jaggard and his fellow Stationers printed were always a collaborative effort. Phillip Galle's (1537–1612) rendering of Jan van der Straet's (1523–1605) image of the interior of a printshop offers insight to the

Plate 4 from *Nova Reperta* (1599-c.1603) showing the interior of a printing house.

complex of materials and makers needed to produce a hand-press book at the time. Rather than reading the image like a photograph, we are better off seeing it as a form of montage, a space in which the various stages and steps of a multi-stage process are combined and frozen in stasis.[4]

PAPER AND TYPE

Near the centre of this print, and absolutely essential to the printing process, is the man carrying the paper on his head. For printers of the period, paper could make up the most significant cost in the production of a book. The cost for paper was greater for English printers since it had to be imported from France and other places on the Continent. Similarly, much of the metal type used by English printers was also imported from Germany and other European printing centres. In short, the materials that constituted any English book in this period relied on a range of global contacts. In this image we do not see the human hands that cut and punched the type that is here being sorted into upper and lower cases [orange: far left wall] and then composed line by line into the forme [other orange], nor do we see those who beat the rags and pressed and dried the paper, but this invisible labour lies behind the materials present.

Not all paper and type were created equal. The same printer who opted for high quality, watermarked rag paper for one imprint might also use a thinner unmarked paper for a second job; that same printer may even mix stocks in the making of the same book, which could also be shared with one or more printers. Decisions were often based on a series of factors including access, cost, and audience. For every job, the printer had to consider

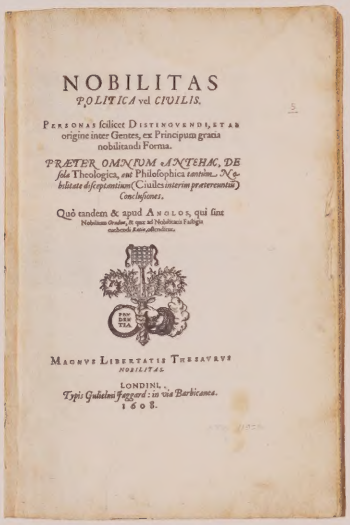
a) what kinds of paper were available and how much paper was needed for each book;

b) how much a particular stock would cost and if it was worth the investment;

c) the clientele for the book: both the projected buyers and the size of the run.

Consider Robert Glover's *Nobilitas, politica, civilis*, a slim, illustrated folio that William Jaggard printed in 1608. Produced on high-quality, watermarked paper with wide margins and generous interlinear space between the typed lines, this book marked a significant investment by Jaggard. The close-up below offers a sense of the quality of the work as we see the impression from the bite of the inked metal type in the fibers of the paper. In addition to investing in paper and a spacious *mise-en-page*, Jaggard also needed special letter forms for the job. While most of this book is in Latin, and thus uses the letters familiar to English readers, a few sections are in Old English and thus require specially cut Anglo-Saxon fonts.

In addition to using special type and quality paper, Jaggard also opted for full-page, engraved illustrations for his edition of Glover's work. Illustrations in the period were



NOBILITAS
POLITICA vel CIVILIS.

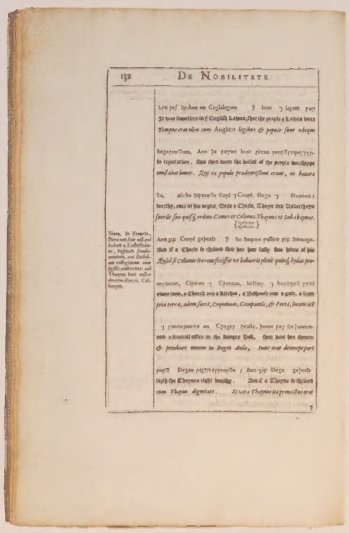
PERSONAS sollicet DISTINGVENDI, ET AB origine inter Gentes, ex Principum gratia nobilitandi Forma.

PRÆTER OMNIVM ANTEHAC, DE sola Theologica, aut Philosophica tantùm Nobilitate disceptantium (Ciuiles interim præterea tantùm) Conclusiones.

Quò eandem & apud ANGLOS, qui sint Nobilitatis Gradus, & quæ ad Nobilitatis Fastigia euehendi Ratio, adiecimus.

MAGNVS LIBERTATIS THESAVRVS NOBILITAS.

LONDINI.
Typis Gulielmi Jaggard: in via Barbicanea.
1608.



132 DE NOBILITATE

The title page to *Nobilitas, politica vel civilis* and a page showing the three-column translation of Anglo-Saxon, English and Latin.

typically produced using two methods. The first and most common technique was known as woodcutting. In this method, a cutter would begin with a drawing that he would use as a model. He would then carve a soft block of wood to create an image in relief. That woodblock would then be inked, like the type, locked into the forme, and printed on the press. Woodcuts were used for such things as ornamental letters and title pages.

On the left, two *named* artists, preparing a hand-drawn model to be cut, from Leonard Fuchs, *De historia stirpium* (Basle, 1542). On the right, a woodcut letter from William Jaggard's, *A Commentary vpon the Fourth Book of Moses* (London, 1619).

The second technique used to print illustrations is known as engraving. Engravings, unlike woodcuts, required the use of an entirely different printing press since engraved images were cut, often into copper plates, using a process known as intaglio. Once the plate was cut and inked it could then be arranged to be pressed into the paper. While engravings required the use of a different press and therefore led the printer to incur additional costs, this technology offered a finer image with superior shading and tone. It is unlikely that Jaggard owned his own roller press, and so he would have had to arrange for the illustrations to be produced by another company Stationer.

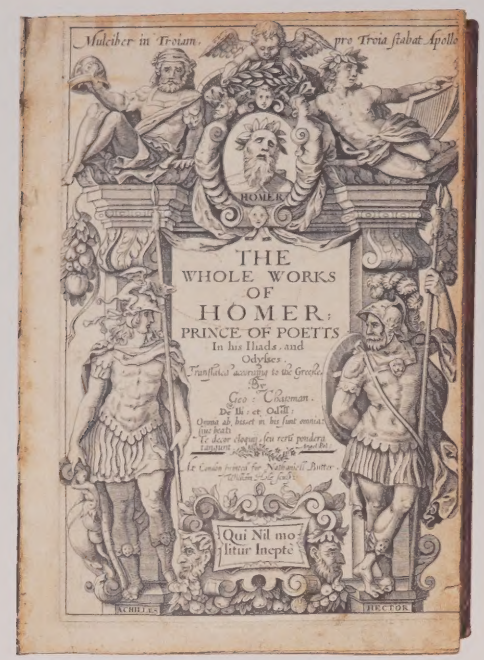
Jaggard's various investments in type, paper, and illustration for Glover's *Nobilitas* reflect his commitment to producing a high-quality book. Given that the work was in Latin, and that its content covered the customs and titles of the highest ranking figures in England, we might conclude that Jaggard intended the book for an audience with the money and personal interest in such a work. Surviving copies of the book suggest as much. A recently auctioned presentation copy from Christie's, for example, has been inscribed by Robert Cotton (1571–1631) to Thomas Crompton (1558–1609).[4] Cotton was one of England's leading antiquarians while Crompton was an important contemporary politician. A hand-coloured copy of *Nobilitas* at the Folger Shakespeare Library offers a similar kind of ownership. The armorial binding carries the gilt crests of Henry Hastings, 5th Earl of Huntingdon (1586–1643) on the book's boards. A student of Cambridge and Gray's Inn, Huntingdon was Lord Lieutenant of both Leicestershire (from 1607) and Rutland (from 1614). If these owners are typical of the kind of audience for this book, then Jaggard's investment makes sense. For many scholars, this is the finest book to have been printed by William Jaggard.[5]

Subsequent publications by William Jaggard would also include engravings, but often fewer in number. George Chapman's *The Whole Works of Homer* (1616), for example, uses an engraving only for the title page. Co-printed with

The roller press from Plate 19 of *Nova Reperta* (1599-c.1603) and an engraved image of Elizabeth at Parliament from Glover's *Nobilitas*.

Richard Field, and published by Nathaniel Butter, this was more typical of Jaggard's employment of this illustrative technology. Another book by Jaggard, Thomas Milles (1550–1626?), *A Catalogue of Honor*, similarly employs a beautifully engraved title page; it also includes additional engravings, but most of these recycle and modify images originally used in Glover's *Nobilitas*.

To recycle made sense since Milles's *Catalogue* was both a translation and expansion of Glover's work of 1608. Milles, who was nephew to Robert Glover, had been a co-editor of Glover's *Nobilitas* and quite likely was a catalyst for seeing the work into print. Although one could argue that the illustrations from the earlier imprint needed to be there because the content required it, to include these images also made good economic sense. By recycling images for this new imprint, Jaggard saved costs he would have otherwise had to expend on artists and engravers. While most of the recycled engravings are left unchanged, some have been modified in a style resembling the airbrushing technique used today in



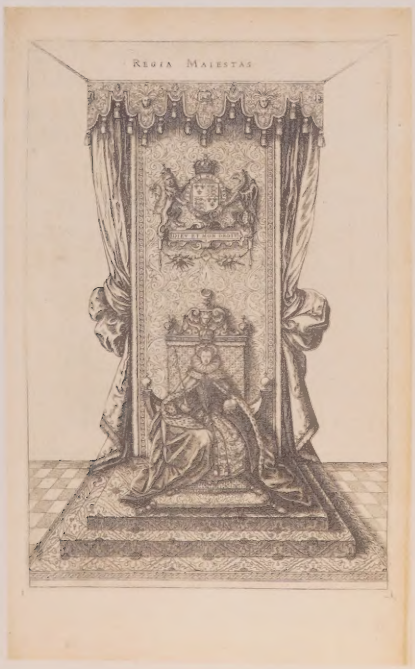
At left, the title page to George Chapman's *Works of Homer* (London, 1616); at right, the title page to Thomas Milles's A *Catalogue of Honor* (London, 1610).

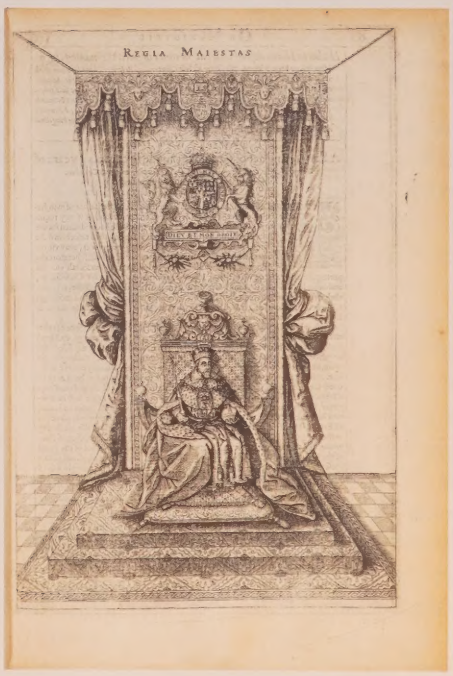
Photoshop. The images below are the same, except that King James is substituted for Queen Elizabeth.

James had been King of England since 1603, and so substituting his image was a way to update the book to include the current monarch. But Milles's book contains other forms of correction including cancelled leaves and manuscript inserts. To understand these requires that we return to the interior of the print shop that we referred to above.

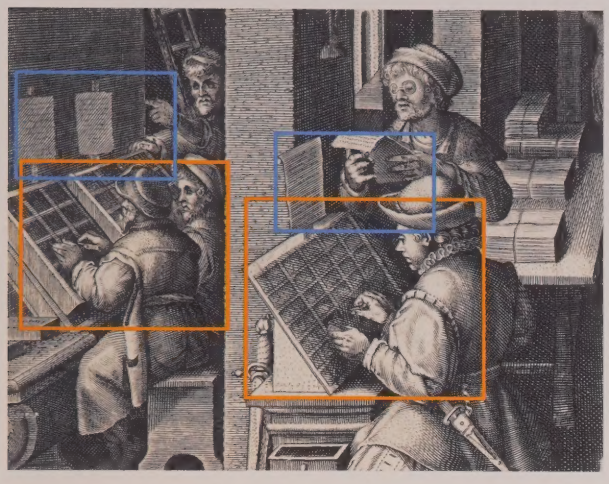
As the apprentices in the premises sorted and composed type [orange], they did so by following the manuscript copy, which had been produced usually by the author or scribe. In this image, different men direct those arranging the type to different manuscripts [blue]; one gestures using his index finger, likely directing the two men on what type to distribute for the upcoming sheets, while the other reads the copy text aloud to the other man composing the forme. With the forme composed [interior orange], it would then be inked using ink balls [green, background] before being set in the bed of the press. With the dampened paper in place, the printer would pull the arm and the inked type would form an impression [green, foreground]. As the sheets were pulled, they would then be proofed for errors [yellow, foreground] and then hung to dry [yellow, upper]. Once dry, the sheets could be folded, cut, sewn, and then sent for binding.

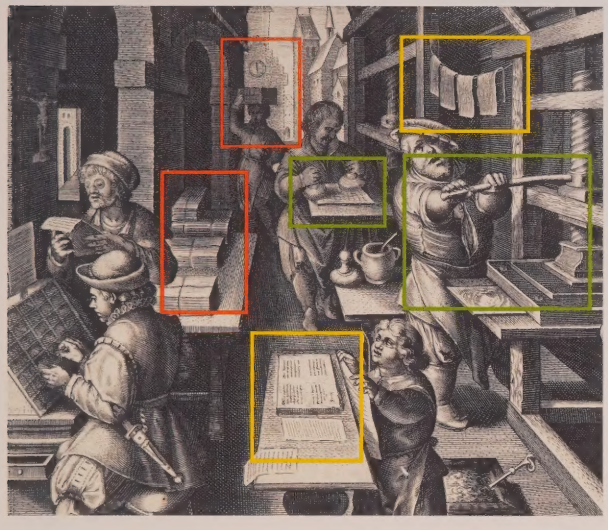
While the operation came with important checks and balances, with so many stages, and an equal number of hands





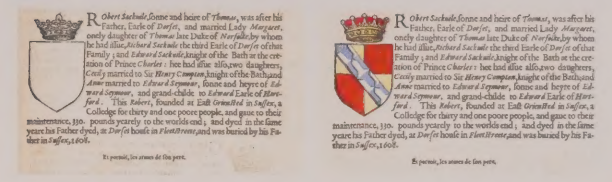
Engravings of Elizabeth and James on the throne from Glover's and Milles's works respectively.





and eyes, the room for error in any given printing was high. The author may have made an error in the original manuscript, the compositor could easily misread a letter or word, or even attempt to standardize spelling when following the copy text, and the proofreader might miss the errors of the author, compositor or both. Add to all this that even though the forme was proofed before printing started, an error might not be detected until later in the process, and thus lead to a stop-press correction. When errors were caught late in the printing, the printer would typically make the correction and then continue the run. The end result was that books would be sold in both corrected and uncorrected states. For bibliographers, such variants between copies offer crucial evidence for reconstructing aspects of textual transmission in the printer's premises.

Jaggard's printing of Thomas Milles's *Catalogue* testifies to the error-prone nature of print. The two Fisher Library copies exist in variant states, with one copy containing uncorrected leaves and the second with the corrected states. Moreover, the errata at the back of the book lists the many errors not captured during the printing and instructs the reader to correct them by hand. In one of the Fisher's copies of the book, the reader has followed Jaggard's directive and made the appropriate corrections in ink.[6] Similar variants exist in other Jaggard heraldic imprints, including Ralph Brooke's (1553–1625) *A Catalogue and Succession of the Kings, Princes etc. of England* (London, 1619). One particularly interesting example can be seen when comparing the two Fisher Library copies. In addition to being uncoloured, the shield and coronet for Robert Sackville, shown here, exists in an uncorrected state. The coronet above the shield is a Duke's, when it should be an Earl's. Rather than reprint the page in full, William Jaggard, or someone else working on his or Ralph Brooke's behalf, has used a slip-on cancel to hide the error.



Details of coronets from Ralph Brooke, *A Catalogue and Succession of the Kings* (London, 1619).

While similar examples exist in practically all Jaggard imprints, such variants are particularly pronounced in his books on heraldry. We will return to the business of error and correction in heraldic imprints at the end of this chapter when we look at the printing of the cluster of books at press during the printing of the First Folio. But next we must look at another topic that informs our understanding of the production of the First Folio: collaborative printing.

Family connections: Collaborating with the other Jaggards.

The previous section focused largely on books produced by William Jaggard alone. While in many of the books discussed, Jaggard would have worked closely with an array of authors and editors, he nevertheless remained the sole printer and publisher. But Jaggard also shared responsibilities with other Stationers, sometimes co-printing works between different establishments, and, more often, printing a book for another publisher. In the latter case, the publisher would have entered the book with the Stationer's register, and then paid the printer to have it made. One of the collaborations Jaggard pursued was with his brother John Jaggard. Unlike William, who worked as both printer and publisher, John focused exclusively on the publishing and selling of books in London.

William and John collaborated mainly on smaller formats. An octavo edition of Francis Bacon's (1561–1626) *Essaies* was first printed by William for John in 1606, and then again in 1612, 1613, and 1617 (the final edition carries a false imprint of 1613). The Fisher Library's copy of the 1613 edition is still in its plain vellum binding. Traces of an early recorded price can be seen in the top right of the title-page and some of the sections, including the essay on empire, have been annotated in a contemporary hand. A similarly successful venture between the two brothers can be seen in their edition of the relations of the Italian explorer, Giovanni Botero (1544?–1617). John Jaggard had collaborated with various printers on the translation of different works by Botero from as early as 1601. In 1608 and again in 1611, he would partner with William to see Robert Johnson's (fl. 1586–1626) English translation of *Relationi universali* into print. The

Fisher Library's copy of the 1608 edition, in quarto, is similar in size to two other books printed by William for John Jaggard.

By the time William Jaggard printed Gerard Legh's (d.1563) *Accedence of Armorie*, in 1612, the work had already seen four editions. First printed in 1568, Legh's book was one of the earliest printed works on heraldry in English. By 1612, new works on heraldry had started to replace Legh's, including Milles's *A Catalogue of Honor*, which Jaggard produced in 1610. Legh's work had not been printed since 1597, and while we might see it as outdated in 1612, it nevertheless fit within the larger corpus of books on heraldry that Jaggard had started to invest in. New heraldry depends on old heraldry and so one reason for buying a book like Legh's was to consult and compare with the newer books on the subject. William was also familiar with the unique challenges of printed heraldry, and so to work on another book with heraldic arms and other specialized illustrations made sense. The final example of John and William collaborating, shown here, comes on loan from the Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies at the University of Toronto. John Davies's (1569–1626) *A Discoverie of the State of Irelande: with the True Causes of why that Kingdom was Never Entirely Subdued* (1613) is, like the Fisher Library's copy of Bacon's *Essays*, still in its original binding. Thomas Windsor, an early owner of the book, has dated the purchase to 1614 and added his motto. This book would see two editions, in 1612 and 1613 respectively.

In focusing on the collaborations of John and William we are reminded of the essential partnerships carried out in the book trade of early modern England. William would have printed and published numerous books himself, while at the same time printing others for fellow London publishers. As William completed his own publication of Robert Glover's *Nobilitas* in 1608, he was soon working on printing Botero's *Relations* for his brother. And while William worked with his brother on several occasions, his collaborations usually involved other Stationers. Of the twenty imprints William was involved with in 1610, seven were published by other Stationers. Two years later, in 1612, nine of William Jaggard's eighteen publications were published by

Inscription of Thomas Windsor with date and motto, from John Davies's (1569-1626) *A Discoverie of the State of Irelande: with the True Causes of why that Kingdom was Never Entirely Subdued* (London, 1613).

others, and seven in this year were published by his brother John. Jump ahead two more years and all had changed between the two brothers. By 1614, William and John had stopped collaborating, and John published very little thereafter.

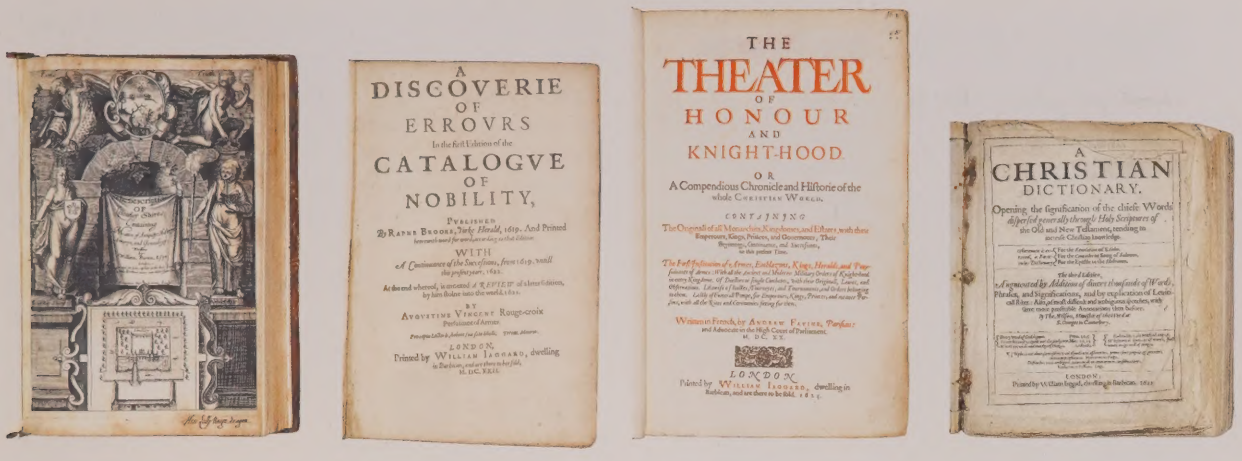
When Shakespeare's First Folio appeared in 1623, a new set of Jaggards had entered the scene: Dorothy, Elizabeth, and most prominently, Isaac. Their full activities, along with John and William Jaggard's output, can be seen in the chart at the end of this catalogue. As we will see in this final section, another family connection, this time between William and Isaac, would prove crucial to the printing of the most famous of Jaggard imprints.

Siblings of the First Folio: Five Works at press, 1622–1623

Shakespeare's universal status as *the* most famous dramatist of all time can lead us to regard the printing of the First Folio as an inevitable outcome, but the fact is more than half of Shakespeare's plays were gathered and printed for the first time in 1623. Rather than being inevitable, the printing of a large folio collection of plays by an English dramatist, in 1623, should be seen as an anomaly. Shakespeare had been dead for seven years and so the decision to have his plays printed would have depended on various individuals willing to invest in the publishing of his works. It would have required members of Shakespeare's playing company to make available previously unpublished manuscript plays; it would also require the willingness of a publisher to gather those manuscript copies of unpublished Shakespeare plays while also obtaining the rights from other Stationers who had printed Shakespeare plays prior to 1623. There may have been other catalysts too. Had Ben Jonson and other contemporaries contributed to seeing Shakespeare's plays into print? To what extent had the Pembrokes, the dedicatees for the work, influenced the decision to produce a collection of Shakespeare's plays?[7] Although we are left to speculate over the exact reasons why the Folio came into being, it is clear that various forms of investment and collaboration were required for the book to be published.[8] Among those investments, one thing is certain: William Jaggard, along with fellow Stationers, Isaac Jaggard and Edward Blount, were willing to join forces to see the First Folio into print.

We cannot pinpoint with certainty when William Jaggard's health began to deteriorate, but he was blind while the First Folio was in production, 1622–1623, and he would die in late 1623. Isaac Jaggard (1595–1627), who would take over his father's premises from 1624 onwards, was the individual who likely oversaw the work of the compositors and others responsible for seeing Shakespeare's plays into print. This might lead us to privilege Isaac over William as the main force in coordinating the publications leading up to and surrounding the printing of the First Folio. On the other hand, many of the works printed under William Jaggard's name, during this period, were tied to genres that he had printed before. Moreover, the decision to publish a collection of Shakespeare's plays stretches back to 1619 when William started to consider the prospect. That period also coincided with William's monopoly over the printing of play bills. Rather than privileging one Jaggard over the other, we are better off seeing William and Isaac together as vital for seeing the Shakespeare folio into print.[9]

Production of the First Folio would begin in 1622 and continue for more than a year. When the printing started, Jaggard was nearing completion of Thomas Wilson's (1563–1622) *The Christian Dictionary*. Soon thereafter, he was working on two large folios on heraldry, and before the First Folio

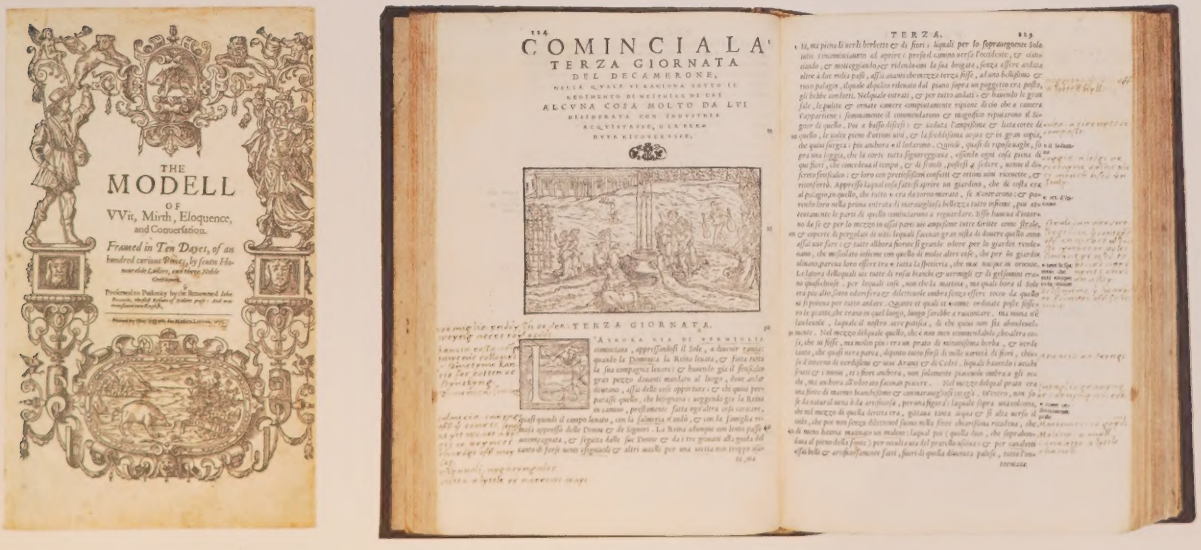


Title pages of the siblings of the First Folio.

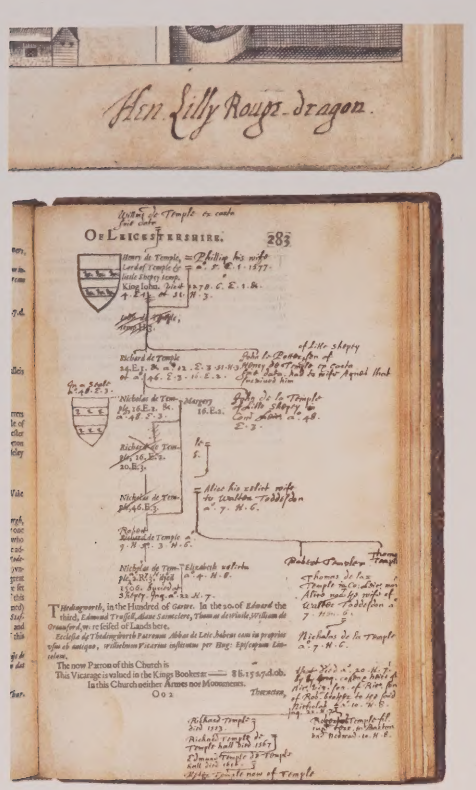
was complete, he would add another smaller book of heraldry to the list. That three of the four siblings to the First Folio were books with heraldic content should not come as a surprise. As we saw earlier, some of Jaggard's most significant publications were folio editions of works on heraldry: Robert Glover's *Nobilitas,* Thomas Milles's *A Catalogue of Honor,* Ralph Brooke's *A Catalogue and Succession*. For Jaggard, this was a familiar genre in a familiar format. The Shakespeare First Folio was not. The only other folio to include a significant collection of plays to this point was Ben Jonson's *Works*, which appeared in 1616, the year of Shakespeare's death. When positioned beside the First Folio we can instantly see the difference in size. The First Folio is larger, longer, and contains only plays. It really is a new vision for a collection of English vernacular drama.

The First Folio and the four siblings were not printed in succession but rather in tandem, with parts of each produced in and out of turn. To better understand the process, we must revisit one more time the engraving of the interior of the early printer's premises. What we do not see in the picture is clear evidence of multiple books in production, but what we know from the period is that the printing of multiple works at the same time was less the exception than the norm. We also do not see another important part of the printing process: casting off. Before printing started, the master printer and his assistants would try to gauge the amount of paper and type required for individual sections of a work. Since they were working from manuscript copy, the best they could do was calculate and project. For the most part, the projections in the First Folio are fine, but there are many instances where lines have been compressed, expanded, and sometimes lost likely because the projection was wrong. Casting off becomes all the more complicated as the printer moves back and forth between the printing of various jobs.[10]

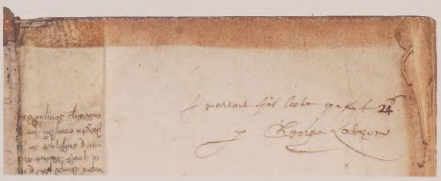
Owing to the Herculean efforts of Charles Hinman, and later Peter Blayney, we now know in detail the order in which the sections of the First Folio were printed, when the printing was halted to resume production of one or more sections from the other 1622–1624 works in process, and a host of other details. Forensic-like analysis of broken and damaged type and rule impressions, ink offsets, condensed lines, and other bibliographic clues in the five works have shown us when different parts of different works were in production and the order in which the work proceeded. A



Issac Jaggard's printing of the English translation of Boccaccio shown with Thomas Lucy's annotated copy of the Italian edition.



Ex libris of Henry Lilly, Rouge Dragon Pursuivant on bottom of the title page to William Burton's *Description of Leicestershire* (London, 1623) and a page of Burton with Lilly's ms. annotations and corrections.



George Lathum's inscription 'I warrant this book perfect' in the Fisher copy of Favyn's *Theater of Honour*.

simplified chronology looks something like this.

Thomas Wilson. *The Christian Dictionary.*
1621, completed mid-1622.
Augustine Vincent. *Discoverie of Errours.*
Late–1621?–late 1623.
William Burton. *Description of Leicestershire.*
July to October 1622.
Andre Favyn. *Theater of Honour.*
Early 1622–December? 1623.
William Shakespeare. *Comedies, Tragedies, Histories.*
Early 1622–December 1623?[11]

For all the work involved in printing Shakespeare's First Folio, one could argue that particular aspects of the sibling printings made them more demanding jobs. For example, the printing of Vincent's *Discoverie of Errours* was of personal significance to William Jaggard. After Jaggard had printed Ralph Brooke's *A Catalogue of Honor* in 1619, Brooke retaliated in a follow-up edition by noting that it was his printer who had been responsible for the book's many errors. Augustine Vincent's *Discoverie of Errours* was an attempt to expose Brooke's flawed heraldry. Indeed, the work reprints large sections of the early Brooke imprints only to challenge them point by point. In short, accuracy would have been of particular interest to Jaggard for this job. In a rare, but exciting move, Jaggard offered his own account of the Brooke affair near the start of Vincent's work. In it, he made it clear that the errors were not his, but those of an angry and sloppy herald.[12]

William Burton's *Description of Leicestershire*, required the use of copper-plate engravings for both the title page and the interior map, as well as the use of woodcut shields and other symbols in the text. In the Fisher Library copy, contemporary herald, Henry Lilly (1588/9–1638) has offered his corrections to both image and word in Burton's text.[13]

The translation of Andre Favyn's *Theater of Honour* contains various elaborate woodcuts and other designs, especially in the early gatherings of the book. The Fisher Library has two copies, one of which has been hand-coloured by a later owner. Compared with the First Folio, both Favyn's and Burton's works were more advanced in their use of illustrations. While the Folio did require an engraving of Shakespeare for the title page, it was the only illustration aside from certain woodcut initials and ornaments to be used for the imprint.

The Fisher Library copy also shows signs of early collation. When a bookseller received a copy of an imprint from another Stationer in the period, he would often check to see that the copy was complete before offering it for sale. The Fisher Library's copy of Favyn shows signs of this process, as the London publisher, George Lathum (active 1620–1658) has noted that this copy is complete.[14]

Any textual study of Shakespeare's First Folio eventually leads to those involved in its printing and publishing and the various practices and processes needed to produce the now famous book. In turning to the Jaggards, and especially William, I hope to have shown the very important, if often neglected, role of the printer-publisher in early modern London. While studies of the First Folio have often looked to the four other books at press in 1622–1623, they have rarely ventured into the earlier publication history of the Jaggards. To consider a printer, at work in 1622–1623, we need to consider where he has been before, what genres he has printed previously, and with whom he has worked. In offering this wider lens on Jaggard's history and his premises, I hope to have brought the First Folio and its siblings into sharper focus. Behind any hand-printed book stands a list of unnamed or unacknowledged participants and an equal number of social forces. While we may not be able to unearth all of the people and practices involved in the making of a particular imprint, in trying to reconstruct the history we start to become aware of the collaborative input that is necessary to print the author's work.

CHAPTER THREE

At Work: Imagining Shakespeare's Textual Engagements

Scott Schofield

To borrow, imitate, and make anew

The mythology surrounding Shakespeare as the quintessential literary genius can blind us to a simple but important fact: his plays were consistently born out of others' stories and narratives. Classical sources similarly shape Shakespeare's two narrative poems, *Venus and Adonis* and *The Rape of Lucrece*, while the *Sonnets*, which are so intimate in their probing of the inner conscience, are similarly indebted to patterns and formulas first made famous by the fourteenth-century Italian poet Francesco Petrarca (1304–1374). By turning to existing stories and familiar literary genres and templates, and then reworking them anew, Shakespeare adhered to a familiar European-wide cultural practice. Whether in Florence or Frankfurt, Lisbon or London, Renaissance writers privileged modelling and imitation as central to artistic creation. If Shakespeare was an exceptional writer in his day, how he approached his sources was common.

THE
First and second
volumes of Chronicles,
comprising

Title page to Holinshed's *Chronicles* (1587).

Opening the chapter this way is equivalent to spoiling a good party. For what could be less sexy than Shakespeare the imitator-borrower? What happened to the representation of Shakespeare in the movie *Shakespeare in Love*? Remember Ralph Fiennes, all scruffy with his shirt unbuttoned, twirling his quill, as he looks to the sky for inspiration, and then, oh yes, begins to write *Romeo and Juliet*?[1] Here is the Shakespeare of legend: driven by inspiration alone and dependent on nothing more than his own artistic energy. It is such an exciting image, but it simply isn't true. Whether we turn to *Julius Caesar, Richard III,* or *Romeo and Juliet*, one thing becomes clear. Shakespeare wrote with books surrounding him. Shakespeare *was* a creative genius; it is just that much of his inspiration came from what and how he read.

This essay will unpack the relationship between Shakespeare's reading and writing practices. I will begin by examining sources he turned to for his plays and poems and what they might reveal about Shakespeare's research process. Next, I will contextualize Shakespeare's case by concentrating on the wider range of books and other media he would have been exposed to in his day, and the particular reading practices that were dominant at his time. Since no books known to have been owned by Shakespeare survive, any attempt to reconstruct Shakespeare's reading and research process requires oscillating between the probable and the possible.

Holinshed, Hall, and Shakespeare's engagement with the Middle Ages

By looking closely at Shakespeare's plays and poems we can start to uncover the kinds of books he consulted and *used* as source material.[2] When we examine the list of known sources that Shakespeare turned to for his English history plays, for example, one work dominates the list: Raphael Holinshed's *Chronicles of England, Scotland, Ireland.* First published in 1577, the work was significantly expanded in 1587 into a massive multi-volume folio set of more than 3.5 million words.[3]

Second edition of Holinshed, 'Newly amended and inlarged,' shown beside the first edition.

Holinshed's *Chronicles* was also controversial. Records show that the 1587 edition was called in and censored before being published. While most of the censorship involved those sections pertaining to the reign of the then current

Queen, Elizabeth I (1558–1603), passages across the whole work were marked for deletion or revision. In fact, much of the evidence of this censorship comes from the chance survival of the marked-up pages of the 1587 section on Elizabeth's reign.[4] While Raphael Holinshed (1529–1580) was an important catalyst behind the project, he was not *the* author of the *Chronicles*. The work was overseen by more than a dozen writers of varying social standing and religious conviction.[5] Some scholars have argued that the work's collaborative authorship offered a prismatic perspective on writing the past and that this in turn shaped Shakespeare's own approach to English historical drama. The numerous speeches made by established national leaders, church officials, and civil servants reported in the *Chronicles*, not to mention those by religious martyrs, imprisoned convicts, and political dissidents would also have caught the attention of a playwright in search of possible material for the stage.

Consider Shakespeare's *Henry V*, one of the many plays for which Holinshed's *Chronicles* served as primary source.[6] In the play, Shakespeare regularly turns to the *Chronicles* for historical facts, but he is careful in what he chooses. Take the conclusion of the famous victory at Agincourt. With the fighting complete, a herald enters the battlefield to enumerate the number of soldiers who have died on either side. King Henry reads the herald's list, 'This note doth tell me of ten thousand French/that in the Field lie slain' (4.8, 78–79). Moments later, the King receives a second note with the numbers of the English dead. He begins, in hierarchical fashion, by naming nobility before offering the larger statistics of lives lost.

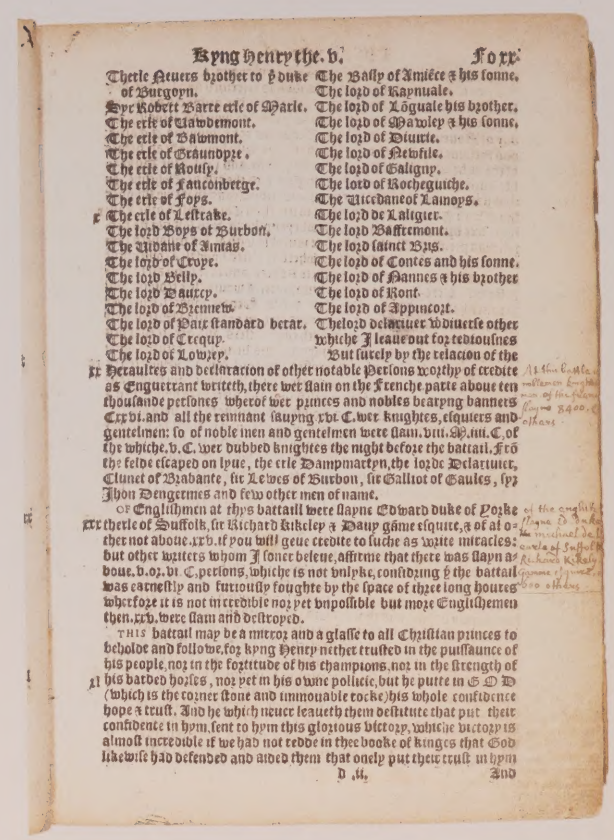
Edward the Duke of York, the Earl of Suffolk,
Sir Richard Keighley, Davy Gam, Esquire;
None else of name, and of all other men
But five-and-twenty. (101–104)

The discrepancy in deaths is staggering: more than ten thousand French slain versus approximately thirty English losses. While our instinct might lead us to suggest that this is the product of literary imagination, a quick look at the historical sources, including *Holinshed* and Edward Hall's chronicle (which is discussed below) suggests otherwise.

> Of Englishmen, there died at this battell, Englishmen slaine. Edward duke Yorke, the earle of Suffolke, sir Richard Kikelie, and Davie Gamme esquier, and of all other not aboue five and twentie persons, as some doo report. [7]

It is difficult not to take note of such moments, and at least one early reader of English History did just that, as evidenced by the copy of Hall in the Fisher Library.

Not only has Shakespeare followed *Holinshed's Chronicles* closely, but he has matched the wording of his source. Or so it would seem. For when we continue reading, we are presented with the following supplement. '[B]ut other writers of greater credit affirme, that there were slaine aboue fiue or six hundred persons.'[8] While six hundred deaths is still small in comparison to the ten thousand French lives lost, it is a far cry from thirty. That Shakespeare chose to highlight one



Kyng Henry the. v. Fo xx.

Therle Neuers brother to ẏ duke of Burgoyn.
Syr Robert Barre erle of Marle.
The erle of Uawdemont.
The erle of Bawmont.
The erle of Graundpre.
The erle of Rousy.
The erle of Fauconberge.
The erle of Foys.
x The erle of Lestrake.
The lord Boys of Burbon.
The Uidane of Amias.
The lord of Croye.
The lord Belly.
The lord Dauxcy.
The lord of Brennew.
The lord of Paix standard berar.
The lord of Crequy.
The lord of Lowrey.
The Basly of Amiēce & his sonne.
The lord of Raynuale.
The lord of Lōguale his brother.
The lord of Mawley & his sonne.
The lord of Diuirie.
The lord of Newfile.
The lord of Galigny.
The lord of Rocheguiche.
The Uicedane of Lamoys.
The lord de Laligier.
The lord Baffremont.
The lord sainct Bris.
The lord of Contes and his sonne.
The lord of Nannes & his brother
The lord of Ront.
The lord of Appincort.
The lord delariuer wdiuerse other whiche I leaue out for tediousnes
But surely by the relacion of the
xx Heraultes and declaracion of other notable Persons worthy of credite as Enguerrant writeth, there wer slain on the Frenche parte aboue ten thousande persones wherof wer princes and nobles bearyng banners Cxxvi. and all the remnant sauyng xvi. C. wer knightes, esquiers and gentelmen: so of noble men and gentelmen were slain. viii. M. iiii. C, of the whiche. v. C. wer dubbed knightes the night before the battail. Frō the felde escaped on lyue, the erle Dampmartyn, the lorde Delariuier, Clunet of Brabante, sir Lewes of Burbon, sir Galliot of Gaules, syr Jhon Dengermes and few other men of name.

OF Englishmen at thys battaill were slayne Edward duke of Yorke
xxx therle of Suffolk, sir Richard Kikeley & Dauy gāme esquire, & of al other not aboue. xxv. if you will geue credite to suche as write miracles: but other writers whom I soner beleue, affirme that there was slayn aboue. v. or. vi. C, persons, whiche is not vnlyke, considring ẏ the battail was earnestly and furiously foughte by the space of three long houres wherfore it is not incredible nor yet vnpossible but more Englishemen then. xxv. were slain and destroyed.

THIS battail may be a mirror and a glasse to all Christian princes to beholde and followe, for kyng Henry nether trusted in the puissaunce of his people, nor in the fortitude of his champions, nor in the strength of
xl his barded horses, nor yet in his owne pollicie, but he putte in GOD (which is the corner stone and immouable rocke) his whole confidence hope & trust. And he which neuer leaueth them destitute that put their confidence in hym, sent to hym this glorious victory, whiche victory is almost incredible if we had not redde in thee booke of kinges that God likewise had defended and aided them that onely put their trust in hym

D .ii. And

Manuscript annotations in Hall's *Union of the Two Noble Families* (1550): 'This note doth tell me of ten thousand French/that in the Field lie slain'.

statistic over another is not surprising. *Henry V*, much like other contemporary literary renderings of the medieval past, capitalizes on this historic victory to heighten audience response. Even though the play was written more than a century and a half after Henry V's reign, events like Agincourt had been burned into the English cultural memory. By opting for thirty rather than the alternative supplied by 'writers of greater credit,' Shakespeare privileged legend over fact.

But such moments should not lead us to define the play as unhistorical. In fact, literary invention is an attempt to breathe life into third-person narration and construct a human record out of factual report. By inventing characters such as MacMorris, Fluellen, and Jamy in *Henry V*, Shakespeare acknowledges how the famous English victory was supported by troops from Scotland, Ireland, and Wales. If audiences are drawn to the play, in part, because of the rousing *English* speeches and historic *English* battles, they are also attracted to the language of dissent and scepticism voiced by non-*English* soldiers. When the Irish soldier MacMorris famously proclaims 'What ish my nation?'(3.2.124) readers are forced to stop and question Henry and the Chorus' rhetoric in favour of war. To write 'What ish my nation?' is to imagine Shakespeare pushing *Holinshed* aside to give voice to the undocumented soldier's complaint and supply what the historical record left as anonymous or unrecorded.

Shakespeare would take a similar approach to *Holinshed* for *Richard II*. Many of the exchanges and speeches in this play, especially those involving Bolingbroke, Mowbray, and

the King, are based on accounts found in the chronicle. As in *Henry V*, here too we see Shakespeare stretching his source to infuse the historical record with elaborate word play and other rhetorical effects. Natural imagery, including references to trees, plants, gardens etc., is regularly employed in the play to emphasize unnatural action: we see it in the Duchess of Gloucester's comparison of her murdered husband to a tree 'hacked down and his summer leaves all faded' (1.2. 20); we see it in Act 2 Scene 1 when Gaunt begins by celebrating England as 'this other Eden, this demi-Paradise' (40), only to end by noting how Richard has transformed the country: 'That England that was wont to conquer others/ Hath made a shameful conquest of itself' (65–66). Gaunt will die soon after he makes this speech, but his prophecy of a dying country will come true. Whether trees are hacked or whole countries lie infected, nature provides a mechanism for explaining the unnatural actions of human beings.[9]

And perhaps there is no place in *Richard II* where this is more prominent than the so-called garden scene. In Act 3 Scene 4, Shakespeare invents a space wherein commoners look to nature to reflect on the political instability of the State. In this fascinating dialogue between a Gardener, his men, and later the Queen, the garden becomes a symbol for the infected state, with tangled vines and cropped branches serving as metaphor for the broken commonwealth. At a moment like this, we might imagine Shakespeare pushing away his copies of Hall and Holinshed as he carves out a new dramatic exchange, but perhaps there is another way of seeing it. As scholars have shown, Holinshed's *Chronicles* was strongly influenced by a set of contemporary beliefs known as commonwealth theory, a political vision that argued for the importance of the collective influence of commoners and government on the crown. England may have been ruled as a monarchy, but proponents of this theory argued that it was important for their Kings and Queens to listen to the political leaders that surrounded them. The King may be head of the State, but the State's success depends on the health of the body that advises the King and manages the realm. Richard's failing stems, in part, from his inability to listen to counsel and from putting himself ahead of the commonwealth.[10] For images of Elizabeth alone and in Parliament, see my discussion on William Jaggard in this catalogue.

Returning to the scene, we begin to see the analogy anew. For the garden to be carefully managed, the weeds and other infectious plants must be destroyed. Should the State be managed similarly? The Gardener seems to think so as he begins to see pruning in political terms: 'Cut off the heads of too fast-growing sprays/That look too lofty in our commonwealth' (34–35). The Gardener's wish will come true as Richard will be deposed for this very reason.

This scene is Shakespeare's invention, but the allegory in it is driven by a political theory that pervades Holinshed. While Shakespeare may have looked beyond the particulars of his source for scenes like this, he still relied on the spirit of the chronicle. If modern readers do not immediately see the garden, with all its vines and roots, as a symbol of political governance, and if they fail to read it as a metaphor for lineal succession, readers of Shakespeare's day would have been all too familiar with the connection. A quick look at

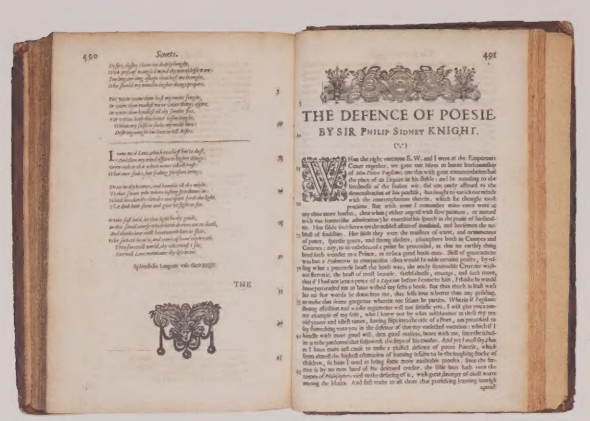
THE VNI-
on of the two noble and illustre fa-
milies of Lancastre & Yorke, beyng long
in continuall discension for the croune of
this noble realme, with all the accesdanc
in both the tymes of the princes, both of
the one linage & of the other, beginnyng
at the tyme of kyng Henry the fowerth,
the first aucthor of this deuision, and so
succedyngly proceadyng to the reigne of the
high and prudent Prince kyng Henry
the eyght, the indubitate flower
and very heire of both the saied
linages. Wherunto is added
to every kyng a
seuerall ta-
ble.

Illustrating succession in Hall's *Union of the Two Noble Families* (1550).

the title-page of Hall's *Union* is a case in point, since each king is joined to the next through an extended network of tree roots. While Shakespeare may have imagined tyrannical leaders, family lines, and whole countries being cut, hacked or infected trees, the idea of connecting human beings and nature in this way was prevalent in the culture.

Looking at *Henry V* and *Richard II* allows us to imagine Shakespeare at work, reading, rearranging, and at times reaching beyond his source to alter the historical record. As Alan Galey has illustrated in this catalogue, Shakespeare's works were to be similarly rearranged and re-contextualized in subsequent centuries to meet different generic requirements. While we can only speculate as to why Shakespeare would transfer a speech in *Holinshed* from one historical moment to another, or invent a new speech, character, or scene from scratch, the simplest answer is genre. As Shakespeare's near contemporary Philip Sidney (1554–1586) explained, while the historian must tell you what happened, the writer of fiction (what Sidney calls poesy) could show you what ought to have happened.

Sidney would proceed to explain that this liberty to invent is what makes poetry superior to other disciplines. 'Nature never set forth the world in so rich Tapistry as diverse poets have done … her world is brasen, the poets only deliver a golden.'[11] And this lesson remains true today. We are drawn to a movie such as *Braveheart*, in part, because of the power of the historical narrative—we believe that it is

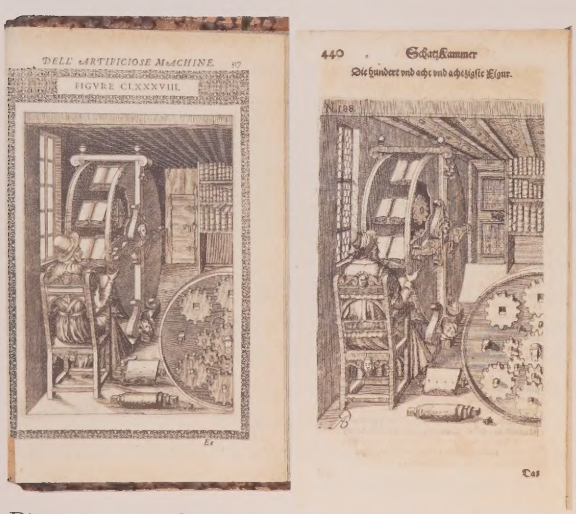

THE DEFENCE OF POESIE
BY SIR PHILIP SIDNEY KNIGHT.

The case for literature, Philip Sidney's *Defence of Poesie* (1613 edition).

a story from the past—but we are moved by Mel Gibson's portrayal of William Wallace (c.1270–1305) because his performance exceeds the historical record. Shakespeare's Henry is no different. As Holinshed provides one speech for Henry, Shakespeare takes it and makes it anew, blending fact and fiction to imagine what could have happened at a particular historical moment. By adding new characters, we are taken to the ground to consider what soldiers could have said. These voices challenge the propaganda in favour of war.

To envision Shakespeare this way is perhaps different from the Ralph Fiennes of *Shakespeare in Love*, but it is no less creative. We just have to imagine a different desk than the one depicted in the famous movie. As he wrote *Henry V*, *Richard II*, or *Macbeth*, Shakespeare would have quill and paper before him, but he would also have books like Holinshed's *Chronicles* on the desk, and perhaps, some on shelves or in a cupboard or trunk. One way of illustrating Shakespeare's referential reading practice is by looking to the book wheel, that imagined technology made famous by Agostino Ramelli (1531–1600).[12] In line with the logic of this imaginary prototype, Shakespeare would have marked, gathered, and excerpted passages from an assortment of books opened to different places.

Holinshed's *Chronicles* would take a prominent place on


DELL' ARTIFICIOSE MACHINE.
FIGVRE CLXXXVIII.
440 Schatkammer
Die hundert vnd acht vnd achtzigste Figur.

Discontinuous reading: Agostino Ramelli's imagined bookwheel from the French (1588) and German (1620) editions.

the desk, and given its size, may have needed a stand. Edward Hall's (1497–1547) *Union of the Two Noble Families*, another folio, would also be close at hand.[13] First commissioned by Henry VIII (1491–1547), and then printed at the start of Edward VI's (1537–1553) reign, Edward Hall's *Union* saw two editions, in 1548 and 1550 respectively. Unlike *Holinshed*, Hall's chronicle focuses almost exclusively on England's medieval past, ending at the death of Henry VIII.[14] The full title of the work suggests as much, for the two families of York and Lancaster represented by the white rose and the red were caught in the century of struggle known as the Wars of the Roses. At the conclusion of the wars, in 1485, a new Tudor monarchy emerged, and with it came a new family rose that blended the red rose with the white.

Shakespeare's engagement with the Middle Ages would have resonated powerfully with his contemporaries. Even though the royal union initiated the start of the Tudor dynasty, and Shakespeare lived and wrote his two tetralogies during the reign of the last Tudor monarch, Elizabeth I, the gentry of Shakespeare's day would have been well aware of their York or Lancastrian roots. Shakespeare's History plays may have been based on events from the medieval past, but the descendants of the families within those narratives were part of the audiences watching and reading these plays in Tudor England.

And Shakespeare was not alone. Fellow London dramatists, including Christopher Marlowe (1564–1593), George Peele (1556–1596), and others also created English history plays, while contemporary poets created long narrative poems charting the rise and fall of England's kings and queens.[15] Among the most famous of this poetic genre, and another key source for Shakespeare's History plays, was *The Mirror for Magistrates*. First published in 1559, and edited and expanded repeatedly over the next fifty years, the *Mirror* is an example of the *de casibus* tradition made famous by writers such as Giovanni Boccaccio (1313–1375) and John Lydgate (c.1370–c.1451). Highly didactic, the *Mirror for Magistrates* illustrates a string of selfish leaders accumulating wealth, popularity, and power only to fall from fortune's height as they succumb to greed and corruption.

With the *Mirror for Magistrates* Shakespeare encountered a sequence of monologues spoken by England's fallen Kings and Queens. In it one can listen to Richard II chart his various abuses or Richard III enumerate his string of violent crimes. We also hear from the children of monarchs, such as Lear's daughter Cordelia.

To read *Mirror* is also to hear echoes of one of the most famous techniques of Shakespeare's: the soliloquy. If Holinshed and Hall offered Shakespeare the key historical facts and events for his plays, works such as *Mirror* offered a template for writing self-conscious reflection in verse, especially as the speakers within the narrative poem look inward to reflect on moments of personal or national crisis much as actors performing Shakespeare presented inwardness on stage.[16]

Shakespeare's creative genius was that he learned from what he read. He knew what worked and what didn't. He knew how to excerpt and assemble existing sources and he also had an eye for when to ignore sections from his sources.

While portraits of Shakespeare, in painting or film, rarely show him sitting at a desk, it is a desk, or a similar space, where he accessed, annotated and arranged material that would then be reworked into dramatic form. Attempting to reconstruct what Shakespeare read allows us to appreciate the labour behind the creativity and see Shakespeare at work.

The Colloseum. From Justus Lipsius, *De amphitheatro liber.* (Antwerp: Christopher Plantin, 1584).

Shakespeare and Ancient Rome.

If Holinshed's *Chronicles* was Shakespeare's first place to turn for stories and facts from England's medieval past, then Plutarch's *Lives of the Greeks and Romans* formed the equivalent for his plays on Ancient Rome. *Julius Caesar, Coriolanus*, and *Antony and Cleopatra*, described by a recent editor as Shakespeare's loose trilogy, are plays based around accounts found in Plutarch.[17] Plutarch would also serve as source for other plays, including *A Midsummer Night's Dream*. Unlike Holinshed, however, Plutarch offers a history wherein pairs of famous figures, one Greek, the other Roman, are compared. The narrative structure of Plutarch's *Lives* suggests that the example of the life portrayed is as important as the historical details that surround it.[18]

Shakespeare read Plutarch in Thomas North's English translation, which was first published in 1579 and then again in 1595. Rather than turning to one of the earlier Latin or Greek renderings, North used James Amyot's French translation first published in 1559. Sitting with Amyot and North side by side, one immediately feels the influence of the Paris folio's layout on the later London printing.[19]

As Shakespeare gathered notes on a character such as Antony for *Antony and Cleopatra*, for example, he would likely have needed to keep his fingers in multiple places of his copy of Plutarch, regularly flipping back and forth between passages. Why? Because the majority of the historical details for Antony are chronicled under the long history titled Antonius, while other fragments of the ancient Roman's life are scattered across the lives of Brutus, Caesar and others. In other words, to gather details on any life in Plutarch was to read discontinuously between narratives.

As with *Holinshed*, Shakespeare read *Plutarch* with an eye to the stage, knowing what sections to extract, which to weave or repurpose and, most importantly, what to ignore. After skimming over decades of important events, pulling but a detail or two, Shakespeare might stop at a seemingly insignificant passage and make it large. Enobarbus's description of Cleopatra in *Antony and Cleopatra* is a prime example. Much of the detail from this sumptuous description finds its origin in Plutarch, and yet we know the passage today because of what Shakespeare did with it. Let's look at North's translation before analysing Shakespeare's rendering of it.

> Therefore when she was sent unto by diverse letters, both from Antonius himselfe, and also from his friends, she made so light of it and mocked Antonius so much, that she disdained to set forward otherwise, but to take her barge in the river of Cydnus, the poope whereof was of gold, the sailes of purple, and the oares of silver, which kept stroke in rowing after the sound of musicke of flutes, howboyes cithernes, vials and such other instruments as they played upon the barge. And now for the person of her selfe: she was layed under a pavilion of cloth of gold of tissue, apparelled and attired like the goddesse Venus, commonly drawn in picture: and hard by her, on either hand of her, pretie fair boys apparelled as painters do set foorth god Cupid, with little fans in their hands, with which they fanned wind upon her.[20]

For all the excess of this description—the silver oars, purple sails, and golden pavillion—the narrator remains largely indifferent. Cleopatra sailed in her boat and this is what it and she looked like. Shakespeare, on the other hand, will transfer the words from Plutarch's narrator to his own newly invented character Enobarbus. More than that, the new character will celebrate rather than simply report Cleopatra's excess. Narrative accounting gives way to idolatry.

> Enobarbus: I will tell you.
> The barge she sat in, like a burnish'd throne,
> Burn'd on the water: the poop was beaten gold;
> Purple the sails, and so perfumed that
> The winds were love-sick with them; the oars were silver,
> Which to the tune of flutes kept stroke, and made
> The water which they beat to follow faster,
> As amorous of their strokes. For her own person,
> It beggar'd all description: she did lie
> In her pavilion—cloth-of-gold of tissue—
> O'er-picturing that Venus where we see
> The fancy outwork nature: on each side her
> Stood pretty dimpled boys, like smiling Cupids,
> With divers-colour'd fans, whose wind did seem
> To glow the delicate cheeks which they did cool,
> And what they undid did (2.2.198–212).

This is pure hyperbole. Shakespeare's Cleopatra is more beautiful than the legendary classical goddess. If Plutarch's Cleopatra desires immortality, Shakespeare's, at least in this description, *is* immortal. The changes in the play are largely achieved through careful modifications of perspec-

tive and tone, but it is the poetics—particularly the recurring instances of metaphor and personification—that makes the moment so electric. Returning to Sidney's *Defence of Poetry* seems fitting here: if the historian tells you what happened, the poet shows you what ought to have happened. Shakespeare imagines the passage that Plutarch, as mediated through the Amyot-North translation, could have written as he turns historical narrative to literary report.

A similar process of modification is found in *Julius Caesar*. In Act 3 Scene 1, when the conspirators kill Caesar, for example, Shakespeare changes the location found in Plutarch and he has the conspirators smear their arms in blood so as to emphasize the visceral nature of the act.[21] Subtle but significant, these changes fundamentally alter how we receive the action of the play. Perhaps the most significant change in *Caesar*, however, is the addition of soliloquies. From Brutus's 'It must be by his death' to Antony's 'Oh, thou bleeding piece of earth', Shakespeare invents a new psychology for the play as he paints the internalized response to death and murder.[22] A few years later, Shakespeare would return to experiment with the soliloquy on an even larger scale with his most famous of plays, *Hamlet*. Whether changing perspective and tone or imagining conscience, Shakespeare's additions to the Plutarch narrative prove vital for how we see his treatment of Ancient Rome.

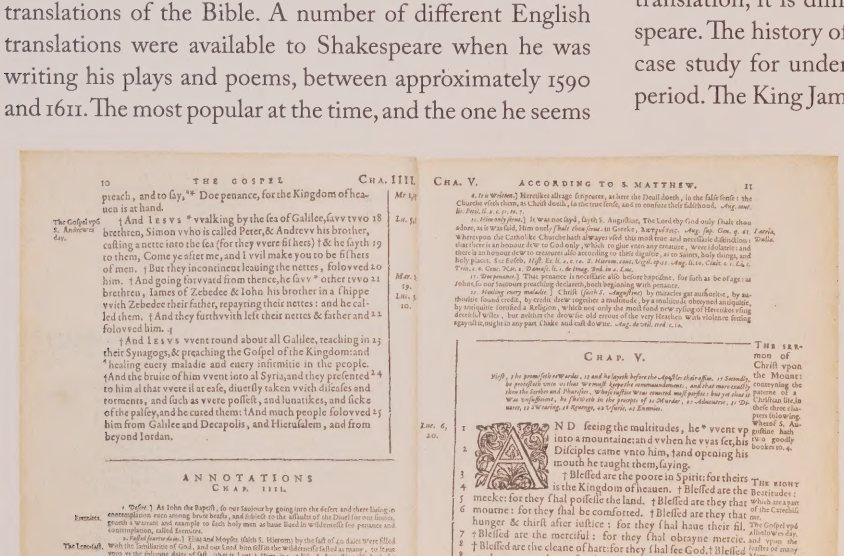
Shakespeare and the Bible

Similar to Holinshed and Plutarch, Shakespeare regularly turned to the Bible for material for his plays and poems, sometimes quoting verse and chapter verbatim, but more often paraphrasing and reimagining the original text. And just as he looked to various historical sources for his plays on Medieval England, he also looked to the various English translations of the Bible. A number of different English translations were available to Shakespeare when he was writing his plays and poems, between approximately 1590 and 1611. The most popular at the time, and the one he seems to have drawn from regularly, was the Geneva Bible. Produced by English Protestant exiles in the 1550s, the Geneva Bible would go through countless updated editions during Shakespeare's lifetime. While part of what attracted readers to this version was the accessibility of its language—the Bible follows closely the translation made by William Tyndale in the 1520s—the edition was also portable, affordable, and informative. Geneva Bibles included commentaries and extensive notes devised to assist the reader. Often published with the metrical Psalms and the Book of Common Prayer, the Geneva Bible was ideal for private reading.

Shakespeare also seems to have had access to and occasionally consulted the Douai-Rheims translation made by English Catholic exiles in France. The New Testament was published in Rheims in 1582; the Old Testament, published in Douai, came nearly two decades later in 1610. Although officially censored in England, copies did enter and circulate within the country. One of the Fisher's copies of the first edition of the 1582 Rheims New Testament, for example, carries an early English signature of Thomas Hutchison on its title page.

The Bible Shakespeare would have heard in Church was known as the Bishops' Bible, a name used to denote the editorial work carried out by a team of English Bishops during Elizabeth I's reign. This translation, which was more latinate in both syntax and style, differed considerably from the Geneva editions. It is difficult to imagine Shakespeare owning a copy of this large folio, especially given its cost, and so scholars have suggested that Shakespeare's use of the Bishops' translation, in his plays, was based on the oral memories he retained from attending church.

In 1611, the King James or Authorized Bible was published. While incredibly important to the history of Biblical translation, it is difficult to gauge its influence on Shakespeare. The history of the King James serves as an excellent case study for understanding textual transmission in the period. The King James Bible formed a new translation, but


10 THE GOSPEL CHA. IIII.

preach, and to say, 16 Doe penance, for the kingdom of heauen is at hand.

The Gospel vpō S. Andrewes day. 18 ¶ And IESVS * walking by the sea of Galilee, saw two brethren, Simon who is called Peter, & Andrew his brother, casting a nette into the sea (for they were fishers) 19 & he sayth to them, Come ye after me, and I will make you to be fishers of men. 20 ¶ But they incontinent leauing the nettes, followed him. 21 ¶ And going forward from thence, he saw * other two brethren, Iames of Zebedee & Iohn his brother in a shippe with Zebedee their father, repayring their nettes: and he called them. 22 And they furthwith left their nettes & father and followed him.

23 ¶ And IESVS went round about all Galilee, teaching in their Synagogs, & preaching the Gospel of the Kingdom: and healing euery maladie and euery infirmitie in the people. 24 And the bruite of him went into all Syria, and they presented to him all that were ill at ease, diuerstly taken with diseases and torments, and such as were possest, and lunatikes, and sicke of the palsey, and he cured them: 25 And much people followed him from Galilee and Decapolis, and Hierusalem, and from beyond Iordan.

ANNOTATIONS CHAP. IIII.

1 Tempted.] At Iohn the Baptist, & our Sauiour by going into the desert and there liuing in contemplation, euen among beast brutish, and subiect to the assaults of the Deuil for our instruction, geueth a warrant and example to such holy men as haue lined in wildernesse for penance and contemplation, called Hermites.

2 Fasted fourtie dayes.] Elias and Moyses (Exod. 5. Hieronym) by the fast of 40 dayes were filled with the fulnesse of God, and our Lord him self in the wildernesse fasted as many, to teach vs the folowne dutie of fast, (that is, Lent.) Hom. 20. in Euā. S. Augustine also hath the like wordes of. 170. And generally all the ancient fathers that by occasion of of purpose speake of the Lent-fast, make it not onely an imitation of our Sauiours fast, but also a Apostolicall tradition, and of necessitie to be kept. Concerning our Lent (saith S. Ignatius) for it commeth vpon the occasion of our Lords owne passion. And S. Ambrose saith plainly, that it was not ordained by men, but inspired by God: our enemies in our earthly expedition, but commanded by the heauenly Hierarchie. And againe, that it is done in the time of the Lent. S. Hieronime writeth also in many places: we (saith he) fast fourtie dayes, &c. and we fast in a yere, according to the tradition of the Lent-fast, in the remembrance This and much more is set S. Augustine Ser. 159. Innocent. 28 & Ambr. thereby to countenance With our Sauiours Passion: and another writer of Chrisost. Ecclesiastical histories hath many other goodly reasons in the ancient fathers which for breuitie sake I omit. See Synod Christian Reader; it is notable testimonie of S. Leo the Great & Quadragesima, Leo. 14. that is, namely her. 6 and 7. where he calleth it the Apostles ordinance by the Traditions of the Holy Ghost. See S. Ambrose Hom. for 25 seasons forward: in S. Bernard 7 Sermons, and in many other places of the like. Last of all, note well the dying of S. Augustine, who afterwards Aug. 31. saith he did obliuiscate thereof the wicked he separated from the good, hideth from Christians, Heretikes from faithful Catholikes.

CHA. V. ACCORDING TO S. MATTHEW. 11

4. he is wicked.] Hereticks allege scripture, as here the Deuil doeth, in the false sense: the Churche vseth them, as Christ doeth, to their true sense, and to confute their falshood. Aug. cont. Ep. Petil. li. 2. c. 11. & 3. c. 10. & 3.

11. Him only shalt.] It was not said, Gyth S. Augustine, The Lord thy God only shalt thou adore, as it was said, Him only shalt thou serue. in Greeke, λατρεύσεις. Aug. Ser. Gen. q. 41. Latria. Wherupon the Catholike Churche hath alwayes vsed this moderate and necessarie distinction: Duelia. that there is an honour due to God only, which to giue vnto any creature, were idolatrie: and there is an honour due vnto creatures also according to their dignitie, as to Saints, holy things, and holy places. See Exodo. Hyp. Ex li. 2. c. 10. 2. Hieron. cont. Iouin. Hyp. 1. Aug. li. 22. Ciuit. c. 1. & 2. & 8. Tert. c. 2. Conc. Nic. 2. Damasc. li. 4. de Imag. Trid. Ses. 25. Conc.

17. Non penitus.] That penance is necessarie also before baptisme. For saith he before: as Iohan. Ch. our Sauiours preaching declareth, both beginning with penance.

21. Hauing euery mutable.] Christ (saith S. Augustine) by miracles gat authorities, by authoritie found credit, by credit drew together a multitude, by a multitude obteyned antiquitie, by antiquitie inuested a Religion, which not only the multitude now ruling of Heretikes ruling deceiuable wits, but also in the dowrie old errours of the very Heathen. With violence setting against it, ought in any part Christes and call downe. Aug. de Util. cred. c. 16.

CHAP. V.

Vers. 1 the promise of worke, 12 and he layeth before the Apostles their office. 17 Secondly, he prescribeth vnto vs what we must keepe the commandements, and what more exactly then the Scribes and Pharisies. Which doctrine we must not frame vnto our owne fantasies, but submit vnto the precepts of the Scripture, 21 Adulterie, 31 Diuorce, 33 Swearing, 38 Reuenge, 44 Loue of our enemies.

THE SER-mon of Christ vpon the Mount: conteyning the parone of a Christian life, in three chapters following. Whereof S. Augustine hath two goodly bookes to. 4.

1 AND seeing the multitudes, he * went vp into a mountaine: and when he was set, his 2 Disciples came vnto him, 3 and opening his mouth he taught them, saying.

3 ¶ Blessed are the poore in spirit: for theirs 4 is the Kingdom of heauen. 5 ¶ Blessed are the 5 meeke: for they shal possesse the land. 6 ¶ Blessed are they that 6 mourne: for they shal be comforted. 7 ¶ Blessed are they that 7 hunger & thirst after iustice: for they shal haue their fil. 8 ¶ Blessed are the merciful: for they shal obteyne mercie. 9 ¶ Blessed are the cleane of hart: for they shal see God. 9 ¶ Blessed 10 are the peace-makers: for they shal be called the children of God. 10 ¶ Blessed are they that suffer persecution for iustices 11 theirs is the Kingdom of heauen. 11 ¶ Blessed are ye when they shal reuile you, and persecute you, & speake al that naught is 12 agaynst you, vntruely, for my sake: 12 be glad & reioyce, for your reward is very great in heauen. ¶ For so they persecuted the Prophets, that were before you.

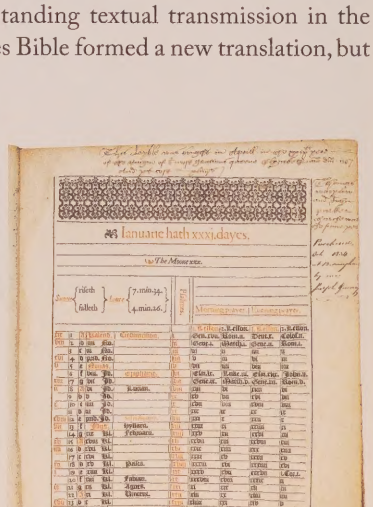
THE RIGHT Beatitudes: Which are spoken of the Catechist. The Gospel vpō Allsaints day. and vpon the feastes of many Martyrs.

13 ¶ You are the * salt of the earth. ¶ But if the salt leese 14 his vertue, wherewith shal it be salted? It is good for no thing any more but to be cast forth, and to be troden of 15 men. ¶ You are the * light of the world. A citie cannot 16 be hid, situated on a mountaine. ¶ Neither do men light a candel

The Gospel on the feaste of Diō.

B ij

The text and commentary of the Rheims Bible.


Early owners of a Bishops' Bible, with signature and price paid.

that newness was the result of collating, absorbing, and reworking elements of all the translations and more just cited. The translators of the King James, like Shakespeare, edited while being surrounded by books.[23]

Those scholars who have studied Shakespeare's use of the Bible have noted how carefully he drew from the various translations, sometimes alluding to a particular verse from the Geneva in two consecutive scenes, only to turn to the Bishops' translation for another verse in the next. When alluding to the Bible, Shakespeare regularly paraphrased and altered word choice in the process. In these instances, he was more like his religious contemporaries—the writers of sermons, commentaries, and polemics—who might paraphrase a verse from memory, and in doing so, produce a new version of scripture. Shakespeare would have had access to these various religious genres too, and so we should consider his use of the Bible as also including the previous mediations made by others. Experiencing the Bible in Early Modern England might include hearing one translation at church, a second spoken in a public sermon, a third in a private reading, and a series of paraphrases and mistranslations along the way. Shakespeare's Bible, therefore, should be seen as mediated through a complex series of transmissions: read in translation from the Bible and related printed genres and heard in church services and through other acts of oral delivery. To envision Shakespeare at his desk choosing between translations of the Bible for his plays is not incorrect, but it is incomplete.

Shakespeare's Ovid and the Classical Past

When Shakespeare alludes to Pygmalion in *The Winter's Tale*, or to the stories of Procne and Philomel in *Titus Andronicus*, when he gives us Pyramus and Thisbe in *A Midsummer Night's Dream* or the story of Acteon in *Twelfth Night* or a reference to Phaeton in *Richard II*, he is turning to the same author: Ovid.[24] Moving from the Bible to Ovid's *Metamorphoses* can feel like an abrupt shift, but not when we focus, as we have, on the processes of textual transmission. Consensus holds that when Shakespeare looked for Ovidian verse he turned to the translation of Arthur Golding (1536–1606). First published in London in 1567, Golding's Ovid would see additional printings in 1587, 1603, and 1612. Golding was important not only to Shakespeare, but also to literary contemporaries such as Christopher Marlowe and Edmund Spenser.

Ovid's *Metamporphoses* was ubiquitous in Shakespeare's time. Countless editions were available, from large folios with dense commentaries to smaller duodecimos without appendix or notes. Ovid's gods and goddesses could be found everywhere: in printers' devices; set within the borders of maps; in pictorial allegories on the Queen; and even on playing cards and bedding.[25] Ovid was also commonly used in the many emblem books printed in the period. Emblem books offered moral teachings using excerpts from classical writers such as Virgil, Aesop, Cicero, and Ovid. By sampling the poetry of classical writers, and commenting on select lines through a mixture of image and word, the producers of these books showed how the most famous of writers could

Ovid illustrated, from Giunti 1584 edition.

be newly mixed and disseminated in an alternative genre. If Shakespeare did consult and paraphrase Golding's translation for details on a particular myth or god, he could easily take inspiration from a rendering of Ovid in an emblem book or other media inspired by Ovid. As with the previous discussion of Holinshed, Plutarch, and especially the Bible, one begins to imagine the ways in which Shakespeare not only read but experienced Ovid and how that shaped his treatment of the various stories and characters from *Metamorphoses*.

A similar argument could be made for Shakespeare's use of other classical writers such as Virgil, Cicero, and Seneca. Here too we must be cautious about relying on a one-to-one relationship between play and source. Shakespeare was familiar with Virgil's *Aeneid*, but he didn't have to look exclusively to copies of the epic for Virgilian material. When Hamlet asks the player from the visiting troupe to rehearse a famous speech of Aeneas' tale to Dido, the allusion signals Virgil as source, but when the speech is concluded and Hamlet reflects by asking, 'What is Hecuba to him, or he to Hecuba/That he should weep for her?,' he joins the long history of response to the fall of Troy. While Hamlet's obsession with the player's emotional range is inspired largely from his own failure to revenge his father's murder, his question is nevertheless exegetical. Like the gloss found on the page of a Geneva Bible, Hamlet's question serves as commentary on the scene. The classical past often came premediated for Shakespeare and his contemporaries, and they in turn continued the process of repurposing.[26]

Canonical authors such as Ovid and Virgil, along with the books that make up the Bible, were so central to Shake-

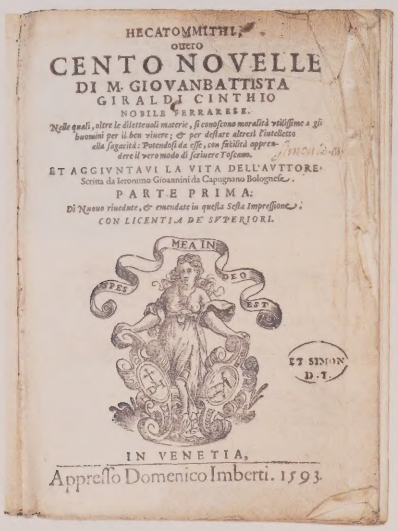
speare that they can be found referenced across his full corpus of plays and poems. Working with these sources is essential if we are to understand Shakespeare at work. But works of lesser-known authorities were important to Shakespeare too. Consider Giambattista Cinzio Giraldi's *Hecathommithi*. First published in Italian in 1565, and later translated into French and Spanish, this collection of stories contains the plots that would inform Shakespeare's *Othello* and *Measure for Measure*.

A similar example can be seen in William Painter's *Palace of Pleasure*. First published in 1566, the miscellany contained stories that Shakespeare likely turned to for *All's Well that Ends Well* and *Romeo and Juliet*. As we have seen elsewhere, Shakespeare often used source as a narrative skeleton to which a much larger set of cultural texts and influences was then added. The *Hecathommithi* may have been an important source for Shakespeare, but *Othello*, as Marjorie Rubright shows elsewhere in the catalogue, is shaped by a more complex set of cultural influences relating to language, race, and identity. A similar point can be made about *Romeo and Juliet*. While Shakespeare looked to Ralph Brooke's narrative poem of 1562 and the prose account in Painter, he also added to what he found. The apothecary, for example, appears for the first time in Act 5 of the play. Mysterious and strange, we first learn about him through a detailed description that combines person and place. As Romeo reflects:

> I do remember an apothecary,
> And hereabouts he dwells, which late I noted
> In tattered weeds, with overwhelming brows,
> Culling of simples. Meager were his looks;
> Sharp misery had worn him to the bones;
> And in his needy shop a tortoise hung,
> An alligator stuffed, and other skins
> Of ill-shaped fishes; and about his shelves
> A beggarly account of empty boxes,
> Green earthen pots, bladders, and musty seeds,
> Remnants of packthread, and old cakes of roses
> Were thinly scattered to make up a show (37–48).

There is no detailed reference like this in Painter, nor in Brooke, and while it is difficult to pin any source to the character, illustrations, like the one shown here, serve as a possible reference point.

Often referred to as cabinets of curiosity, rooms such as that illustrated here, served as a space for the showcasing of objects from around the world. If Shakespeare invents the apothecary, the room he inhabits has a visual counterpart in Renaissance print. Looking to the visual, particularly the many woodcuts and engravings from the period, we start to uncover possible images behind the texts. While we may think of Shakespeare looking to Montaigne's (1533–1592) thoughts on skepticism and suicide in the *Essais*, when writing *Hamlet*, we might also turn to the forms of *memento mori* found in Renaissance anatomical books of the period. When we think beyond the traditional sources to the larger array of textual media we widen the frame in which we can view Shakespeare's textual engagement.


HECATOMMITHI,
OVERO
CENTO NOVELLE
DI M. GIOVANBATTISTA
GIRALDI CINTHIO
NOBILE FERRARESE.
Nelle quali, oltre le dilettevoli materie, si conoscono moralità vtilissime a gli
huomini per ii ben viuere; & per disfare altresì l'intelletto
alla sagacità: Potendosi da esse, con facilità appren-
dere il vero modo di fauellare Toscano.
ET AGGIVNTAVI LA VITA DELL'AVTTORE
Scritta da Ieronimo Giouannini da Capugnano Bolognese.
PARTE PRIMA:
Di Nuouo riueduta, & emendata in questa Sesta Impressione.
CON LICENTIA DE SVPERIORI.
MEA IN
SPES
DEO
EST
ET SIMON
D. T.
IN VENETIA,
Appresso Domenico Imberti. 1593.

Source for *Othello*: title page to the 1593 Venice edition of Cinthio's *Hecathommithi*.

A cabinet of curiosities from *Dell'historia naturale* (Naples 1599).

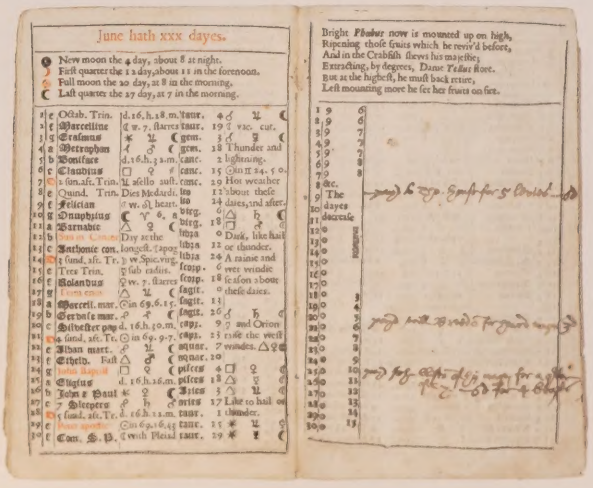
Ephemera and the Everyday

To sit with the large printed folios of North's Plutarch or Holinshed's *Chronicles*, or the various editions of the Bible, is to return to those sources that we know Shakespeare to have read and used for his plays. But to focus too long on these works can blind us to the wider spectrum of textual genres and kinds that were available to Shakespeare, some of which were incredibly popular. An early English printed almanac is the kind of book that was so commonplace in the period that we can easily forget its importance. Typically printed in black and red, readers consulted their almanacs for different feast days, for astrological forecasts, and even for how to live well. The Fisher's copy of a 1635 edition, shown here, was part of an annual series of almanacs dating back to the 1590s. Examining the copy offers us clues to the possible uses for such a book. The ink annotations in this copy reveal purchases and payments of different kinds, including costs accrued for food, animals and wages.

Memento mori in anatomical books: Vesalius and Valverde.

The book's marginal notes remind us of the everyday reading and writing of the period. While the almanac offers a standard yearly calendar, the user in the Fisher's copy responds by personalizing that book. Somewhere between the printed text and the reader's manuscript notes the genre comes to life. That this almanac has survived is remarkable. The *English Short Title Catalogue* notes that this is one of two surviving copies. Compare that to the more than two hundred surviving copies of Shakespeare's First Folio. Why so scarce? Almanacs were time-sensitive, of use within the year but disposable at the year's end. The Fisher's copy is unbound and barely held together by a simple stab-stitch. Some of its pages have been torn out, while others have been dog-eared. It is not the kind of book to be preserved or showcased, and yet it was the kind of book to be used and consulted often. We might imagine Shakespeare comparing passages from Hall's *Union* and Holinshed's *Chronicles* when writing *Henry V*, but we also need to think of him stopping his research to consult his almanac. As I have been writing these last two paragraphs, I have stopped to consult the calendar on my phone twice. Such acts of interrupted, discontinuous reading are not unique to our age.

Similar to the almanac described, the Fisher's copy of this Protestant prayer book is one of only two surviving copies. Once again, its scarcity derives, in part, from its size. Small, portable books such as this could easily be damaged and discarded. Such books were also designed for private devotion and so could be worn through regular use. Unlike the Fisher almanac, however, this copy of Bull's *Praiers* is beautifully bound. The contemporary, gold-tooled binding and gauffered fore-edges suggests that the owner cherished his book and invested in its materiality. Although the book is made of Protestant prayers and meditations, its typographical design, and even its binding, resembles Catholic genres such as Books of Hours. While scholars may debate Shakespeare's religious tendencies, they are bound to agree that he was exposed to both Protestant and Catholic traditions. Looking at the Fisher's copy of Henry Bull's *Praiers* reminds us of how these typically divided traditions could


June hath xxx dayes.
New moon the 4 day, about 8 at night.
First quarter the 12 day, about 11 in the forenoon.
Full moon the 20 day, at 8 in the morning.
Last quarter the 27 day, at 7 in the morning.
Bright Phœbus now is mounted up on high,
Ripening those fruits which he reviv'd before,
And in the Crabfish steres his majestie,
Extracting, by degrees, Dame Tellus store.
But at the highest, he must back retire,
Left mounting more he see her fruits on fire.

A typical early seventeenth-century almanac.

An early English sixteenth-century prayer book.

Indenture used as binding.

overlap. As we speculate as to whether Shakespeare stopped to consult his almanac or meditate in private devotion, we can conclude that he was part of a culture where such books circulated widely. In attending to these books, we begin to consider a larger social setting for Shakespeare's textual knowledge.

By shifting the lens to these portable genres, we consider Shakespeare as everyday reader. While we can still examine his engagement with Plutarch as he writes *Antony and Cleopatra*, we might also imagine him reading a posted proclamation or consulting other legal documents such as the indenture shown here. This indenture, which has been converted into a vellum binding, reminds us of the everyday texts that were regularly encountered but often discarded.

We might also consider him returning to notes that he had previously taken in the margin of a book and then possibly transferred to a commonplace book. Finally, we should also consider the possibilities for how Shakespeare obtained books. Did he purchase or borrow books and did he receive copies as gifts? Did he share a copy of Holinshed's *Chronicles* with other dramatists associated with his playing company, The Lord Chamberlain's Men, and after 1603, The King's Men? Did he store books on a shelf or in trunk? Since none of Shakespeare's books survives, we are left once again to speculate. But to ask these questions is to attend to the ways in which books were stored, read, and used in Shakespeare's time. Asking these questions opens possibilities for Shakespeare's reading practices that are often overlooked.

Consulting the everyday books of early modern England allows us to consider Shakespeare's everyday. We begin to look beyond his desk, to imagine him walking and perhaps stopping to read a sign in a London street, or peruse a passage in a small book that he pulled from his pocket. In looking beyond the imaginary desk to the imaginary street, from reading in a chair to reading in transit, we broaden the relationship between reading, media, and space. While we might conclude that we are still left to speculate as to what and how Shakespeare read, if his plays serve as any clue to his reading practices, we would do well to split our attention between learned sources and the vast array of other media and texts that made up his everyday world.

CHAPTER FOUR

Shakespeare's Tongues: *Henry V* and the Babel of English

Marjorie Rubright

In Act 5, Scene 2 of William Shakespeare's *Henry V*, the victorious King of England makes his dramatic entrance into the French court. Having defeated the far larger and less war-weary French army at the Battle of Agincourt, King Henry boldly presents the French with his list of demands. Prime among these is his marriage to the French Princess, Katherine. To borrow the terms of the First Folio, Katherine is Henry's 'capital demand' (5.3.96), and his proposal, which she cannot refuse, is heavily inflected with the martial imagery characteristic of Henry's speech throughout the play: 'Shall not thou and I, between Saint Denis and Saint George, compound a boy, half-French, half-English, that shall go to Constantinople and take the Turk by the beard?' (5.2.204–07). As if the terms of this proposition were not clear enough, Henry emphasizes that since he's won Kate through battle she 'must therefore needs prove a good soldier-breeder' (5.2.203).

As far as marriage proposals go, this one is among the baldest in Shakespeare's *oeuvre* and, from the French Princess's vantage point, far from tempting. As if to underscore both the motive of political expediency driving his proposal, and Katherine's apparent lack of agency in shaping her future, Henry leaps beyond matrimonial matters to imagine instead the fruits of their nuptials: a half-English, half-French son whose colonial ambitions will lead a united England and France to the very outskirts of Europe. Scanning the horizon for new cultural conquests while still fresh from battle on grounds much closer to home, Henry invites both Katherine and the English audience seated in Shakespeare's recently-built Globe theatre to think beyond the more proximately situated geographies of England and France and past the Anglo-French dynastic politics which have consumed his reign, to dream instead of future victories against the Ottoman Turks.

Neither Kate nor Shakespeare's audiences, I suspect, were likely to have fallen for Henry's characteristically well-crafted rhetorical redirection. As Shakespeare's history plays remind us, the proximate relations of England and France were never far off in the English cultural imagination. Why, then, does King Henry urge his war-prize and future bride to look beyond both the immediate context of England's conquest of France and past questions of the cultural and linguistic differences between them? What is at stake in Henry's urging Katherine to reimagine England and France not as the enemies they so long have been but as kingdoms joined as lovers, allied against futures foes?

The problem of the play's final scene is not *whether* Katherine will accept Henry's proposition. As the scene transpires her father, the defeated King of France, is offstage consenting to Henry's demands. The suspense of this scene turns, instead, on questions of language. How and to what extent do the English-speaking King and broken-English and French-speaking Princess understand one another? How might Katherine, whose broken English seems to signify her political and sexual disadvantage, negotiate, resist, or refuse the terms of her conqueror's demand? For Shakespeare's audiences who were so often exposed to a multiplicity of foreign tongues inside London's public theatres, just how broken did Kate's English seem?

In the context of the play, England has just beaten and absorbed France but *English* has never conquered *French*. Indeed, as the final scene in this history play features not a triumph in war but a lesson in language, we are left wondering exactly what kind of 'compound' Henry and Katherine might produce. Is the vision of their linguistic union one of creolization, translation, or the absorption of one language by another? These questions are important during Shakespeare's lifetime because the English language, the very source of Shakespeare's art, was undergoing rapid expansion in this period. Sometimes through invention—the coinage of 'new' words into English—but primarily by way of the infusion and absorption of various tongues, both contemporary and classical, the English language was both celebrated and disparaged as an increasingly global tongue.

Questions about the distinctiveness of English fascinated Shakespeare and his contemporaries. Shakespeare has long been lauded for his invention of new words, or 'neologisms'.[1] Though Ben Jonson famously eulogized Shakespeare as a poet 'not of an age, but for all time', Shakespeare was also very much a product of his age. Shakespeare both contributed to and benefited from the ways in which English was growing through global encounters. Indeed, Shakespeare's theatre marketed language lessons that aimed not only at instructing audiences but at the more speculative enterprise of trying out ideas about language through the staging of linguistic exchange.

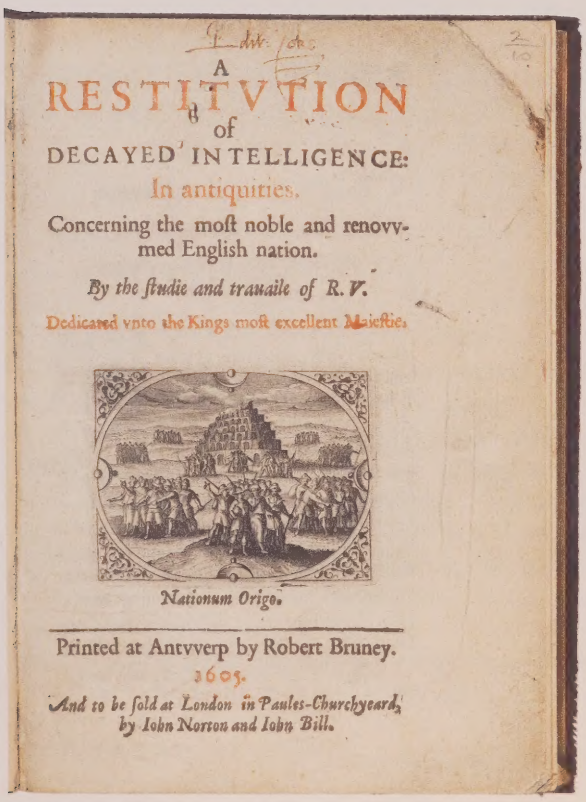
For Renaissance playwrights, dictionary makers, and antiquarians thinking and writing about the history of the English language, the category of English raised problems because of its long historical entanglements with other tongues, including French, Irish, Welsh, Scots, Dutch, German, Italian, and Latin. Historically speaking, King Henry the Fifth (1413–22) was the first King to make English the official language of the court. The phrase 'the King's English' is thought to have originated in reference to Henry V's policy, which shifted the official language of England's court from French to English. The differences between monoculture and cultural diversity, between monolingualism and multilingualism, have also been central to the legacy of Shakespeare's play. The questions raised by the play's portrayal of England's linguistic landscape has long made it central to scholarly explorations of Renaissance English national and ethnic identity. As Henry's 'English' army battles the French, they discover themselves internally divided, made up of a loosely-assembled crew of English-, Irish-, Welsh- and Scots-men whose differences of language and dialect raise questions regarding how national unity across

so much linguistic diversity might be fostered. So too, Henry and Katherine's courtship raises questions of cross-cultural linguistic translation and conversion.

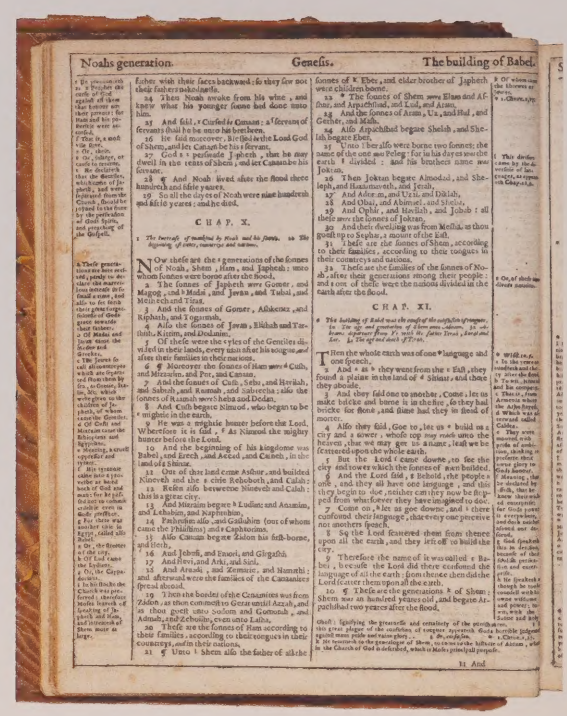
In the conclusion of this chapter, I return attention to this final scene between the English King and French Princess to explore how it dramatized for English audiences a range of ideas about what counts as English, and how language both connects and divides England and France. The texts showcased in this essay open onto the world of words in which Shakespeare lived; they illuminate the ways in which, as English language was undergoing significant transformation in this period, Shakespeare and his contemporaries were rethinking English's history, debating its cultural status, and working to clarify, define, and characterize its borders.

The Tower of Babel and its Renaissance Legacies

Any full consideration of ideas about language in early modern Europe must reckon with the story of the Tower of Babel, and the Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library offers a remarkable portal into the legacy of this story in the Renaissance. Though in the entirety of Shakespeare's corpus, no mention of the Tower of Babel is explicitly made, evidence of its legacy can be found throughout Shakespeare's plays and poems, in the form of the drama's many language lessons, linguistic confusions, and dialect differences. For Joseph Porter, a comprehensive survey of the Babel topos in Shakespeare's corpus reveals that the Tower of Babel provided Shakespeare with one of the central 'analogues' running


A
RESTITVTION
of
DECAYED INTELLIGENCE:
In antiquities.
Concerning the most noble and renovvmed English nation.
By the studie and trauaile of R. V.
Dedicated vnto the Kings most excellent Maiestie.
Nationum Origo.
Printed at Antvverp by Robert Bruney.
1605.
And to be sold at London in Paules-Churchyeard, by Iohn Norton and Iohn Bill.

Title page of Richard Verstegan, *A Restitution of Decayed Intelligence* (Antwerp, 1605).


Noahs generation. Genesis. The building of Babel.

CHAP. X.

CHAP. XI.

Genesis chapter 11: verses 1–9 from a 1599 edition of the Geneva Bible.

throughout his Henriad (153).[2] Indeed, the story prompted Renaissance visual artists, poets, dramatists, lexicographers, and humanists of all stripes to imagine not only a time before linguistic, racial, ethnic, and national difference, but to rethink how to conceive of the history that followed from the curse.

The story of the Tower of Babel is a tale of origins. Like so many origin myths, this one aspires not only to explain the world as we know it, but to frame how we think about our place in that world. In its simplest contours, Genesis 11:1–9 tells the story of the rise and fall of human ambition, and the resulting linguistic confusion that catalyzed the dissemination of nations around the globe. The story provided Renaissance authors with a powerful narrative about the origins of globalization. The Geneva Bible, the biblical text William Shakespeare would likely have known best is pictured here.

Whereas before the confusion of tongues at the Tower of Babel, all of mankind was imagined as connected—a race unified as a single linguistic community—afterwards, the human condition was understood as one of dismemberment. The story of the tower bequeathed to Shakespeare's contemporaries a powerful mythology regarding the cause and effects of human sameness and difference, situating language at the foundation of how Judeo-Christians classified self and other.

In an illustrated manuscript, likely dating to the early eighteenth century, the Tower of Babel story is conveyed in dramatic fashion. Robert Dodsley sets his verse rendition of the story next to a picture of the tower that depicts the story in stages. With flaps that fold up from the top and bottom margins of the picture's frame, the reader is invited to experience the tower both before and after the fall:

Conscious of guilt the sons of Noah try
To build a Tower whose top should reach the sky
But on their vain designs the Lord did frown
Lift up you'll see their Tower tumbling down.

This beautiful representation is at once visual and tactile, two- and three-dimensional, static and moving. Its double perspective onto the story offers readers a rare vantage point. The page not only conveys the story; it invites the reader to reenact its most dramatic moment. Opening the flaps of the book, the reader discovers the tower sundered and mankind

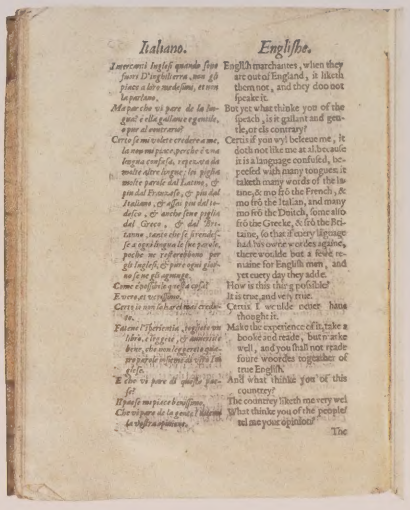
Robert Dodsley, manuscript, untitled. [On Biblical subjects: poems, histories, meditations, prayers], early 1700s. On left, Tower of Babel with flaps closed; on right, 'On the Tower of Babel' text.

Robert Dodsley, untitled manuscript showing Tower of Babel with flaps open.

divided into new nations that 'spread to diverse coasts.' Closing the flaps back up, a reader might ponder what it would have been like to live in a world before the curse.

In sixteenth- and seventeenth-century England, the Babylonian curse was reimagined as a contemporary phenomenon: alive on the streets of polyglot London where merchants from around Europe daily traded their wares at the Royal Exchange; audible in the public theatres wherein actors spoke in English, broken English, and a broad range of foreign tongues and accents; and reverberating through the English-, Gaelic-, Welsh-, and Scots-speaking archipelago, the British Isles.[3]

The linguistic mixing that resulted, partly from England's Anglo-Norman past, following the Norman Conquest of 1066, was yet another topic that returned writers to the story of Babel in an attempt to imagine a moment before English became—to borrow the characterization of John



John Florio. *Florio his Firste Fruites* (London,[1578]), folio 50v.

Florio,[4] Italian immigrant to London and author of popular Italian-English grammars and dictionaries—, 'a language confused, bepessed [patched up] with many tongues; it taketh many words of the latine, & mo from the French, & mo from the Italan, and many mo from the Duitch, some also from the Greeke, & from the Britaine, so that if every language had his owne words againe, there would be but a fewe remaine for English men, and yet every day they adde.'[4] Not only was the British archipelago riven by different languages and dialects, English itself was 'confused' with its own internal mix of foreign borrowings.[5]

A wide variety of solutions were proposed during Shakespeare's lifetime to remedy England's embarrassing Babel-like confusion. Richard Mulcaster, first headmaster of the Merchant Taylor's School in London, celebrated English's enrichment by means of its absorption of foreign tongues. In *The First Part of the Elementarie Which Entreateth Chefelie of the Right Writing of our English Tung* (1582) Mulcaster emphasizes the ways global trade and linguistic exchange go hand in hand, enriching both England and the English language:

> If the spreading sea, and the spacious land could use anie spech, theie would both shew you, where, and in how manie strange places, theie have sene our peple,

Engraving by Wenceslas Hollar, *Byrsa Londinensis vulgo The Royal Exchange* (p. 907) ca. 1660.

> and also give you to wit, that theie deall in as much, and as great varietie of matters, as anie other peple do, whether at home or abrode.

The English tongue, Mulcaster argues, is used for so many 'kindes of dealing' that this global traffic both enriches and enlarges the English language. By this process, he suggests, foreign words enter regular native usage, and 'by that mean make a foren word, an English denison.'[6] Words, like people, could migrate and find new homes.

While Mulcaster celebrated English's ability to endenizen foreign words, some of his contemporaries urged, instead, to restore English to its Saxon roots. The story of Babel also plays a central role in the most influential and radically revisionist philological work published in Shakespeare's lifetime: *A Restitution of Decayed Intelligence in Antiquities*, written by Richard Verstegan and published in 1605. The foundational text of 'English Gothicism,' *A Restitution* sets out to reject the long-standing origin myth of Britain's roots in Troy to argue instead that English ethnic history—that of 'ancient English-Saxon people'—was rooted in the Germanic 'nation' whose progenitor, Tuisco, was forefather of one of the original ethno-linguistic kin groups formed at Babel's fall.[7] While many of his contemporaries disparaged the mixed and diluted heritage of the English language, Verstegan saw the possibility of recovering a prior Germanic unity.[8]

Verstegan displays his indebtedness to the Babel story on his frontispiece, which portrays a strikingly tidy portrait of the origin of nations after the curse. God's intervention registers softly, taking the form of a cloud that drifts across the top of the unfinished monument in the background. The image portrays a gentle tension between destruction and creation, as the huddled bodies cast out from the cursed tower create smaller, dispersed communities in its image: the

Figure of Tuisco (page 71) from Richard Verstegan, *A Restitution of Decayed Intelligence* (Antwerp 1605) and close up of the image, 'Nationum Origo' [Origin of Nations] from the title page.[9]

ethno-linguistic groups that find their origin in the moment of the curse.

In an era often celebrated for its linguistic inventiveness, Verstegan was interested primarily in questions of linguistic and cultural history and committed to its potential to reorient perspective onto contemporary linguistic categories. His process of studying the past, however, shares with Shakespeare's talent for creating new words a tendency toward invention. Through his study of etymologies—sometimes remarkable for their historical accuracy, other times specious or invented—Verstegan aims to unlock the storied, migratory past of language families. In those migratory patterns he unearths evidence of forgotten kinships. Nowhere is this more arresting than in his ruminations on the connections between England ('Albion') and France ('Gallia').

Though France and England had long been separate political realms, last officially united during the medieval reign of Henry V, Verstegan glimpses in the shorelines of their lands evidence of a 'conjunction in time long past':

> That our Ile of *Albion* hath bin continent with Gallia, hath bin the opinion of divers [authors who have observed] the neernes of land betweene England and France (to use the modern names of both countries) that is, from the clifs of Dover, unto the lyke clifs lying betweene *Calis* and *Bullen* [...] These clifs on either side the sea, lying just opposite the one unto the other; both of one substance; that is, of chalke and flint; the sides of both towards the sea, plainely appearing to bee broken off from some more of the same stuffe or matter, the length of the said clifs along the seashore being on the one side answerable in effect, to the length of the verie like on the other side.

This shared form and substance, Verstegan argues, offer evidence 'to proove a conjunction in time long past, to have beene betweene these two Countries, whereby men did passe on drie land from one unto the other [...] whereby our countrie [Albion] was then no Iland but Peninsula, being thus fixed unto the main continent of the world'[10] (96–97). Verstegan's description of these shorelines animates the landscape of England and France, transforming England from a lonely island into part of the 'main continent of the world,' and transforming the identity of the English language along the way.

The First Folio edition of Shakespeare's *The Life of Henry the Fift* concludes also with an image of the animated shorelines of England and France. As the French King bestows his daughter in marriage to Henry, he imagines the marriage dissolving distance and antipathies between England and France:

> that the contending kingdoms
> Of France and England, whose very shores look pale
> With envy of each other's happiness,
> May cease their hatred, and this dear conjunction
> Plant neighbourhood and Christian-like accord
> In their sweet bosoms, that never war advance
> His bleeding sword 'twixt England and fair France.
> (5.2.344–350)

The early modern reader who set down a copy of Shakespeare's play to pick up an early modern atlas would have discovered the ways in which maps of England often included the shoreline of France, and vice versa. In the case of England and France, it had become something of a convention for cartographers to depict the borders of the other country's shoreline so that each place appeared in relation to the proximately situated beyond.

We see France and Flanders jut into the bottom right margin of Abraham Ortelius' map of 'Angliae et Hiberniae' in his *Theatrum orbis terrarum, or The Theatre of the Whole World* (1606). So too, Mercator's *Atlas sive cosmographicae* (1595) encourages its readers to imagine England in close proximity to France. Here, I think we see an especially clear example of the mirroring coastlines that Shakespeare's King of France imagines in his final speech.

John Speed's *Theatre of the Empire of Great Britaine,* first published in 1611/12, was not a world atlas at all, but rather the first comprehensive collection of maps of English and Welsh counties and towns. Even here, in a collection devoted to 'Great Britaine,' France, as well as Flanders, is given ample representation in the margins of Speed's 'Map of the Kingdom of England Ireland.' It seems, for Shakespeare, Verstegan, and the cartographers of their age, imagining the limits of England brought France clearly into view. So too this was the case with English and French, two languages so historically intertwined that to think on Babel was to discover oneself lingering on the problem of Anglo-French proximity.

Detail from 'Angliae et Hiberniae' in Abraham Ortelius, *Theatre of the Whole World* (1606).

Detail from 'Britannicae Insulae' in Gerhard Mercator, *Atlas sive cosmographicae* (1595)

OCEAN
Brabant
Flander
Artois
Hanault
Are to be sold by Roger Pan. the Elder and younger at the Golden Crosse in Cornhill ouerthe Exchange

Detail from 'The Kingdome of Great Britain and Ireland' in John Speed, *The Theatre of the Empire of Great Britaine* (1650).

Shakespeare's World of Words

How did Shakespeare attempt to make sense of the linguistic diversity of his age? While there are many things scholars may never know about Shakespeare's writing life, one thing is certain. For the majority of his life, Shakespeare did not write with an *English* dictionary at arm's reach. It was not until 1604, when Robert Cawdrey published *A Table Alphabetical*, that a monolingual English wordlist, including both headwords and their gloss, was first published in England.[11] Hardly a 'dictionary' in the sense of the definitional resource we expect today, Cawdrey's *Table* of 2543 headwords (or 'lemmas') was a small, octavo book listing 'hard' or difficult English words glossed by synonyms in 'plaine' English.[12]

Like so many of his contemporaries, Cawdrey worried that English had become estranged from itself, overly mixed with foreign borrowings. As to those who forget their mother tongue and strive for 'outlandish English,' Cawdrey writes, 'one might well charge them, for counterfeiting the Kings English.' The 'King' to whom the 'King's English' refers was none other than Henry V. The matter of mixing between English and French was not, in Cawdrey's estimation, a problem of England's medieval past but of present-day cultural relations:

> Also, some far iournied gentlemen, at their returne home, like as they love to go in forraine apparel, so they will pouder their talke with over-sea language. He commeth lately out of France, will talk French English, and never blush at the matter. [13]

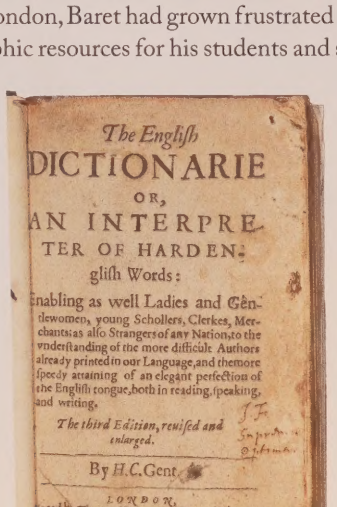
As the English traveled to France, they brought back with them their 'over-sea language' transforming English into 'French English.' Cawdrey's *Table* sought to resolve this matter first by identifying borrowed terms and, second, by offering a more 'apt' English gloss in its place.

The first work in the history of English lexicography to be called a 'dictionarie' was the bilingual Latin-English work, *The Dictionary of syr Thomas Eliot knyght* (1538), renamed in its successive editions *Bibliotheca Eliotae: Eliots Librarie*. It would take almost a century before the first monolingual English book would describe itself as a 'dictionarie': Henry Cockeram's 1623 *The English Dictionarie; or, An Interpreter of Hard English Words*.

If Cawdrey's hardword list sought to gloss foreign imports, as well as scholarly language, with more 'apt' English equivalents, Cockeram's *Dictionarie* aimed further yet, promising the 'speedy attaining of an elegant perfection of the English tongue, both in reading, speaking, and writing.' As his letter to the reader underscores, in deciphering both the hard words of the English language and in refining the 'vulgar' with more 'refined' and 'eloquent speech'— by offering readers alternatives to the 'mocke-words which are ridiculously used in our language,'— Cockeram aims to elevate the status of the English tongue.

This illuminates another issue very much at stake in discussions about the value of English during the period when Shakespeare was writing for the stage, and in the decades following: eloquence. Charles Barber, historian of the English language, writes that, in the decades just before Shakespeare's birth, 'the attitude to English in the early Tudor period was apologetic.' However, this changes toward the end of the sixteenth century, when 'uncomplimentary comparisons of English with other languages have largely disappeared; and seventeenth century writers are more likely to go to the other extreme, and boast of the superiority of English to other languages.'[14] Coming at the end of the sixteenth century, Shakespeare benefits from this rehabilitation of the reputation of the English tongue, and from the army of printed books – like the dictionaries under discussion here – that served the creation and propagation of English eloquence.

One dictionary that almost certainly informed Shakespeare's artistry was John Baret's *An Alvearie: or Triple Dictionarie* of English, French, and Latin (1573). A school teacher in London, Baret had grown frustrated with the lack of lexicographic resources for his students and so assembled


The Englisſh
DICTIONARIE
OR,
AN INTERPRE-
TER OF HARDEN-
gliſh Words:
nabling as well Ladies and Gen-
tlewomen, young Schollers, Clerkes, Mer-
chantsas alſo Strangers of any Nation, to the
vnderſtanding of the more difficult Authors
already printed in our Language, and themore
ſpeedy attaining of an elegant perfection of
the Engliſh tongue, both in reading, ſpeaking,
and writing.
The third Edition, reuiſed and
enlarged.
By H.C. Gent.
LONDON,
inted by Thomas Harper, for Thomas Weaner,
and are to be ſold at his Shop, at the great
North ate of Paules Church.

Title page to Henry Cockeram, *The English Dictionary: or, An Interpreter of Hard English Words* (London, 1631). Third edition revised and enlarged.

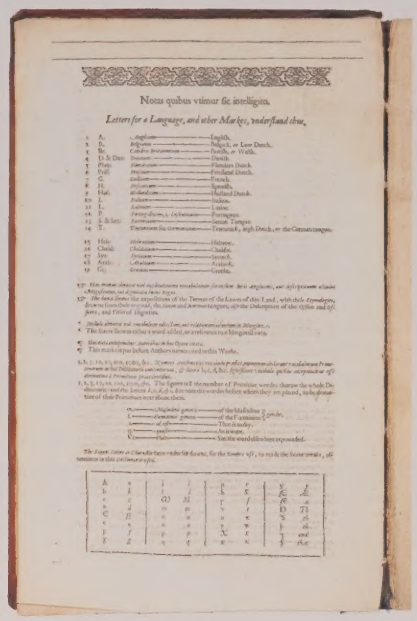
this multilingual wordbook. In his colourful letter of dedication to the Lord Burghley, chief minister of Queen Elizabeth I, Baret likens the process whereby he and his students compiled the triple dictionary to a colony of bees gathering 'wax and Hony into their Hive':

> About eyghtene yeares agone, hauing pupils at Cambridge studious of the Latin tongue, I vsed them often to write epistles and themes togither, and daily to translate some piece of English into Latin, for the more speedy, and easie attaining of th same. And after we haad a little begunne, perceyuing what great trouble it was to come running to mee for euery word they missed, ... I appointed them certaine leauses of the same booke euery day to write the English before ye Latin .... Thus within a yeare or two they had agathered togither a great volume, which (for the apt similitude betweene the good scholars and diligent Bees in gathering their wax and hony into their Hiue) I called then their Aluerie.

The title page of Baret's *Alvearie* offers a charming representation of this process. Bees swarm busily in and out of a hive. Across the frontispiece, one spots bees drawing nectar from a rich array of flowers and fruit trees whose branches crawl up the sides of the title page, as their work transforms the multiplicity and diversity of the garden into a single sweet substance.

Since T.W. Baldwin's *William Shakespere's Small Latine & Lesse Greeke* (1944), scholars have recognized the strong possibility that Shakespeare owned a copy of Baret's *Alvearie.* Baldwin argues that Shakespeare 'turned many a time and oft to Baret for his varied synonyms' (p. 718). Shakespeare's characters also sometimes gloss their own speech and, when they do, they sometimes echo definitions found in Baret's dictionary.[15] In 2013, two booksellers, George Koppelman and Daniel Wechsler, located a copy of the expanded second edition of Baret's *Alvearie,* published after his death in 1580. This heavily annotated copy of the quadruple dictionary (English, French, Latin, and Greek)

Title page to John Baret, *An Alvearie or Quadruple Dictionary, countaining Foure Sundrie Tongues* (London, 1580).



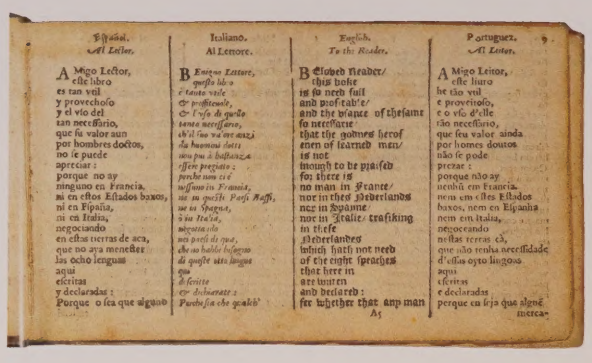
'Letters for a Language, and other markes' in John Minsheu, Ηγεμων εις τας γλωσσας, *id est, Ductor in linguas, The Guide into Tongues* (London, 1617).

made news around the world when Koppelman and Wechsler claimed that they had discovered Shakespeare's actual copy. Had they discovered Shakespeare the student diligently taking notes in the margins of his *Alvearie*? Though academic scholars of Shakespeare have been skeptical about this claim, there is no doubt that the extensive annotations we find in dictionaries like this one give us a rich picture of the close and creative engagement of readers in this period with their wordbooks.[16]

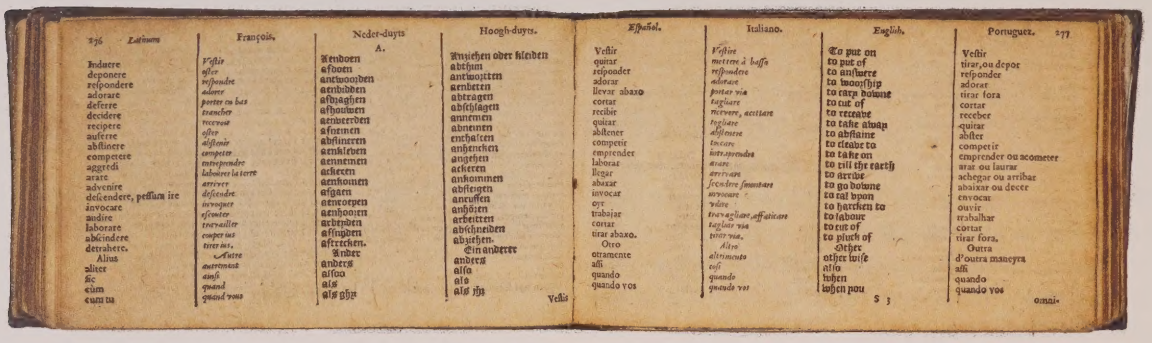
The multilingual wordbooks that were popular across early modern Europe employed the design of their pages to help readers navigate linguistic diversity. In 1617, John Minsheu published his *Ηγεμων εις τας γλωσσας, id est, Ductor in linguas, The Guide into Tongues.* The 'key' to Minsheu's *The Guide into Tongues* identifies ten languages, in addition to English, as well as a number of dialects represented in the work, showcasing the linguistic ambition of his enterprise. While many polyglot wordbooks organize languages into separate columns (as we will see, below, with Berlemont), Minsheu uses typography—the use of black letter, roman, italic, as well as Greek and Hebrew alphabets—to indicate linguistic classifications. A reader looking for equivalents must visually engage the page, looking at the typographic differentiations among languages, and then tracing the 'keys' for each language or dialect (B for Belgic, L for Latin, G for Gallic [French], and so on). This page encourages an early modern version of smart textual 'surfing.' The typographic design of dictionaries could enable readers to move past an otherwise daunting amount of lexical data by engaging the text, initially, as a visual rather than solely semantic medium.

If the design of wordbooks was growing ever more sophisticated, so too were the title pages. While Baret's title page represents the work of lexicographic enterprise as a beehive, other title pages staged more human dramas of cross-cultural linguistic exchange. This is the case with Noel de Berlemont's *Colloquia et dictionariolum:* a bestselling

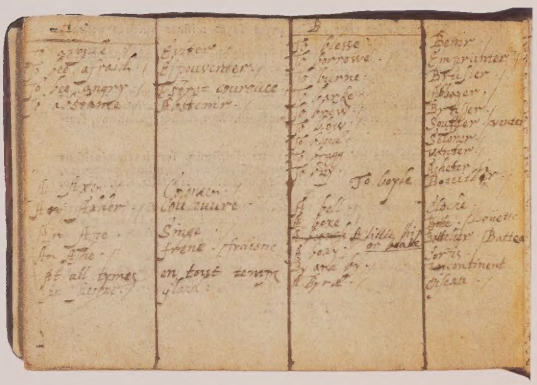
Title page to Berlemont, *Dictionariolum et colloquia octo linguarum* (Antwerp, 1662).



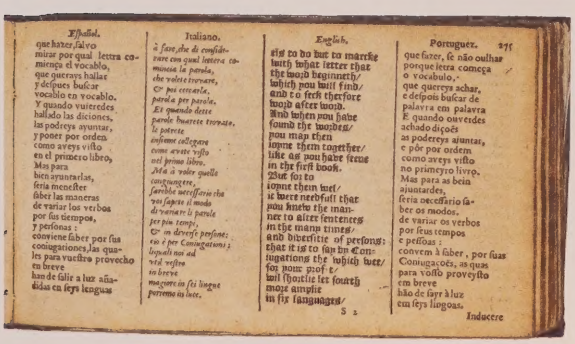
To the reader, from Berlemont, *Dictionariolum et colloquia octo linguarum*, p.9.



Beginning of the wordlist, from Berlemont, *Dictionariolum et colloquia octo linguarum*, pages 276-277.



Reader's notes in Berlement's *Colloquia et dictionariolum septem linguarum* (Antwerp, 1616).



Berlemont, *Dictionariolum et colloquia octo linguarum*, page 275.

polyglot wordlist that between 1550–1650 averaged 'one edition ... each year in one or another European city,' calculates Susan Phillips.[17] Like many dictionaries produced throughout Europe in the Renaissance, it too was first authored by a schoolmaster and language instructor.[18] In addition to its wordlists, early editions of the *Vocabulare* (as it was originally called) also included three dialogues: 'a dinner of ten persons,' 'for to buy and sell' and 'for to demand one's debts.' As the work evolved, it expanded to include up to eight languages and seven dialogues.[19]

The Thomas Fisher copy of the Antwerp 1662 edition of Berlemont's *Dictionarium* of eight languages features a splendid title page. Conversation ensues in a scene of warm conviviality as eight men, each standing in for one of the work's eight different tongues, relate with one another. The men appear to have discovered common ground, despite their polyphony of tongues. Their interactions and intimacies invite the reader to think less of boundaries between tongues than about the cultural cross currents that can be generated by language in translation, and through conversation. As a few figures lean into one another in a friendly greeting, others are organized roughly in parallel formation across the landscape prefiguring the organization of the

wordlists within. Inside the book, the pages themselves seem to tell a different story – of division rather than discussion. Like many other editions of Berlemont's work, particularly those printed in northern Europe, this Antwerp edition divides each language from the others with a rigid, black, vertical line. Languages are left-justified and contained within their proper columns. Each column of every page is given a linguistic 'title': Latinum, François, Neder-duyts, Hoogh-duyts, Espanol, Italiano, English, Portuguez. So too, type font is used to differentiate (and suggest connections between) the different tongues.[20] Like the post-Babelic linguistic communities depicted by Verstegan and Dodsley, here each language group is discretely siloed into a self-sustaining pillar.

Berlemont's individual wordlists (French | English | Spanish, etc.) and the languages represented therein appear garrisoned, as if the architecture of the page mitigates the risk of cacophony and linguistic confusion that the dictionary's opening dialogue ('a Dinner party of ten persons,' all speaking in various tongues) seems poised to invite.

For one reader, the *mise-en-page* of Berlemont's wordlists was so compelling that she or he recreated it on the blank leaves of a 1616 edition of the *Colloquia*, held at the Folger library. While this reader copies the *layout* of Berlemont's pages (left-justifying the words, inscribing clear dark vertical lines across the octavo opening, and creating a small space for column titles), *what* the reader enters into the columns follows a very different logic. Notice how English words are organized alphabetically across eight columns. The *mise-en-page* of Berlemont's dictionary informs this reader's thinking about how to display language on the page, even as the logic of lexical organization follows the increasingly popular principle of alphabetical organization of monoglot dictionaries. This reader transforms a polyglot model to serve a monoglot purpose. The Folger copy hints at the flexibility of Berlemont's *mise-en-page*, the ways it could be repurposed to accommodate even the organization of monolingual wordlists. It also reminds us that readers were engaging these wordbooks creatively, thinking both with and against the grain of the messages conveyed on and by their pages.

The wordbooks themselves also took a creative approach to language. Rather than just reflecting and reporting on a set of entirely discrete language groups, these books help generate linguistic identity and difference. To look closely at just one instance, the reader who accepts the logics of difference and sameness encoded by Berlemont's *mise-en-page* is unlikely to linger over the inclusion of the word 'languages' in the English column on page 275.

According to the visual organization of the page, 'languages' is an English word because it appears in the English column. And yet, were the same reader to open to the letter 'L' in Richard Cawdrey' *A Table Alphabetical* (1604), she would discover 'language' featured there as a 'hard word,' a decidedly *French* import that Cawdrey glosses *into English* for his reader. In Cawdrey, the French 'hard word' ('language') is differentiated from the more familiar English glosses ('a tongue, or speech') in two ways: by type font (all hard words / headwords appear in roman type while their common English equivalents appear in black letter); and through the use of the symbol (§), which Cawdrey places selectively before many hard word entries to indicate the French origins of a word (unsurprisingly, Cawdrey is not always correct about the origins of the words he marks as denizens of the English language).

This single instance directs our attention to the ways Renaissance dictionary makers were powerfully determining the very linguistic categories central to so many of the period's most contentious debates about identity. Given the long history of Anglo-French linguistic mixing from the Norman Conquest onward, this was nowhere more the case than in lexicographers' depictions of the relation of English to French. Indeed, for native English speakers in 1604, including William Shakespeare, to characterize one's mother tongue as 'the English language' was to give voice to the enduring history of English's mixedness, particularly the Norman legacy resident *in* and *as* English.[21] Within the context of the polyglot wordlist, to speak of the English 'language' was to express oneself *in the vernacular*; yet, for the reader of Cawdrey's dictionary, to speak of the English 'language' *in these terms* was to showcase instead the 'hardness' of English, its self-strangeness, or what Michael Saenger has recently coined English's 'interlinguicity': 'the cohabitation of languages' understood 'not as exceptions to the rule of monolingual, national consciousness, but rather as a dominant norm of the early modern world.'[22]

Incidentally, Shakespeare's King Henry prefers talking of 'tongues,' which he does ten times throughout the play, to speaking of 'languages,' which he does only once. The fact that this 'King's English' features *both* terms reminds us that though Shakespeare lived in a fast-evolving and ever-expanding emporium of English and Englished words, he was a wordsmith, not a school master, language instructor, or dictionary maker. Like Baret's bees, Shakespeare drew from a diverse lexical field to generate his art and in so doing showcased the 'interlinguicity' of early modern English.

'Semblable' tongues: Speaking 'French English' in *Henry V*

I have argued elsewhere that Princess Katherine's speech —both on stage and in its typographic embodiment on the printed pages of the First Folio—poses significant challenges to King Henry's desire to incorporate England and France on his own terms. Henry enters the final scene of the play insistent that he cannot speak Kate's foreign French tongue; therefore, she must convey her mind to him in broken English. The divisions that Henry works forcefully to uphold in this scene—those between English, broken English, and French—turn out to be far less reified in his exchange with Kate than he cares to avow.

If, for a moment, we were to visualize Anglo-French linguistic exchange from Henry's vantage point, we might say that the King imagines English and French taking the shape of two columns in Berlemont's dictionary, each language garrisoned off from the other. Katherine's speech, however, reminds us instead of the image of the hive. Her words reveal the mixing and mingling of Anglo-French linguistic history. Though Katherine's mouth is ultimately stopped by the King's kiss at the conclusion of this scene, the *lingua franca*

that her tongue represents sounds out the limits of the linguistic conquest of 'the King's English.'

The problem Henry faces throughout this scene, as Crystal Bartolovich cannily conveys, is that 'before Henry ever kisses Katherine, her tongue has already been in his mouth, so to speak'.[23] 'Normans, but bastard Normans, Norman bastards!' (3.5.10) roars the French Duke of Britain as he imaginatively transfigures the motley crew of Henry's Irish, Scottish, Welsh, and English army into a single band of French half-breeds.[24] Henry's rousing speech outside the gates of the French town of Harfleur does more to confirm than challenge this vision of England's long history of cultural and sexual intimacies with France: 'Dishonour not your mothers; now attest / That those whom you called fathers did beget you' (3.1.22–23), he urges his army. In battle, Henry's soldiers might prove their English 'mettle' (3.1.27), claim 'noblest English' blood 'fet from fathers of war-proof' (3.1.17–18), and thus disprove the French Duke's disparaging characterization. Though Henry is confident on the battlefield that he and his army shall not be undone by the French, when he is left alone with Katherine at the French court, every word Henry speaks *and comprehends* risks betraying him as a 'Norman bastard' indeed.

The long history of English's adoption of French *into* and *as* English resounds fully in Kate's lexicon. Her vocabulary challenges boundaries between English and French more fully than we are apt to recognize today. Let us take a single but particularly rich instance: Kate's use of the word 'semblable' in the following exchange. Upon Henry's declaration that Kate is 'like an angel', the Princess inquires, 'Que dit-il—que je suis semblable a les Anges?' [What does he say, that I am like an angel?] (5.2.111–12). The Princess's apparent cross-linguistic rewording (or, 'interlingual' translation) is precise, and Henry understands her well enough to affirm Katherine's French translation, 'I said so, dear Katherine, and I must not blush to affirm it' (114–15).[25] On the level of the dialogue, Kate appears to translate Henry's English into French, and he, having understood the French (translating silently), affirms in English Kate's French translation. Their exchange imaginatively reenacts the common schoolroom practice of double-translation, whereby boys in grammar school were required to translate passages out of Latin into English, and then back into Latin from the English again. In this instance, both Kate and Henry seem well prepared to gloss both sides of this English-French double translation.

And yet, something more complex is transpiring here. What Kate performs, in this moment, is less an interlinguistic translation than an intralinguistic rewording. When Kate translates Henry's simile ('je suis semblable a les Anges'), her choice of the word 'semblable' would have registered to Shakespeare's audiences as contemporary *English* – a synonym for the word 'like'. That this term no longer lives in our English lexicon, except in its resonance with the word 'semblance', explains why Shakespeare's editors have sometimes failed to register the complexities of Kate's wordplay.

The word 'semblable' is first recorded as English in the late fourteenth century.[26] It appears as English in bilingual glossaries and lexicons as early as 1538, when Sir Thomas

Manet King and Katherine.

King. Faire *Katherine*, and moſt faire,
Will you vouchſafe to teach a Souldier tearmes,
Such as will enter at a Ladyes eare,
And pleade his Loue-ſuit to her gentle heart.

Kath. Your Maieſtie ſhall mock at me, I cannot ſpeake your England.

King. O faire *Katherine*, if you will loue me ſoundly with your French heart, I will be glad to heare you confeſſe it brokenly with your Engliſh Tongue. Doe you like me, *Kate*?

Kath. Pardonne moy, I cannot tell wat is like me.

King. An Angell is like you *Kate*, and you are like an Angell.

Kath. Que dit il que Ie ſuis ſemblable a les Anges?

Lady. Ouy verayment (ſauf voſtre Grace) ainſi dit il.

King. I ſaid ſo, deare *Katherine*, and I muſt not bluſh to affirme it.

Kath. O bon Dieu, les langues des hommes ſont plein de tromperies.

King. What ſayes ſhe, faire one? that the tongues of men are full of deceits?

Lady. *Ouy*, dat de tongeus of de mans is be full of deceits: dat is de Princeſſe.

Detail from Henry and Katherine's dialogue from Act 5, Scene 2 of the First Folio text, *The Life of Henry the Fift*, p. 93.

Elyot includes it in his *Dictionary of syr Thomas Eliot knyght*. Richard Huloet's *Abecedarium Anglico Latinum* (1552) is the first lexicon to list 'semblable' as a headword. Later, Richard Mulcaster includes it in his *Elementary* (1582), and Shakespeare uses the word in both *Henry IV*, part 2 and *Antony and Cleopatra*.[27] Although Kate's sentence appears in italic in the First Folio, suggesting that the compositors understood Kate to be speaking French throughout this line, the word might have given compositors in 1623 reason for considerable pause, since 'semblable' had regularly appeared in English hardword and monolingual dictionaries, including John Bullokar's *An English Expositor* (1616), Robert Cawdrey's *A Table Alphabetical* (1617), and Henry Cockeram's *English Dictionary* (1623). During this period, it meant not only 'to be like' or 'to resemble' another, but also suggested the darker aspects of simulation, as in 'to feign'.

An illuminating pun, 'semblable' directs attention to the way in which past incorporations of French into English emerge as present realities. Here, French is revealed as already embedded in English. This is a mixing that can't be undone. English speakers who hear or see in Kate's 'French' an 'English' term risked discovering themselves to be 'Norman bastards.'

Kate's speech, here and elsewhere in the scene, exposes precisely the 'semblable'-ness of English and French vocabulary. Though she performs *as if* she were translating Henry's speech *verbatim*, Kate exposes instead the difficulty of thinking in terms of cross-linguistic translation, and cross-cultural difference. For those listening to the echoes between French and English that resounded within Shakespeare's wooden O, certainly no half-French, half-English boy would need venture to Constantinople to proclaim this truth, since it had long been resident in the self-strangeness—the babel—of Renaissance 'English'.

CHAPTER FIVE

Shakespeare's Global Imagination: The Stranger 'of here and everywhere,' *Othello, The Moor of Venice*

MARJORIE RUBRIGHT

Othello, The Moor of Venice plunges us into a global tragedy that unfolds across both real and imagined geographies. Less a landscape than a crossroads, the settings of *Othello* feature intersections between European, Ottoman, and African territories and cultures. *Othello* has been called 'Shakespeare's most agonizing play' because it strikes so many readers and audiences as trafficking in disturbing cultural beliefs that divide self and other in ways familiar to us still today. As Kim Hall, recent editor of the play, has argued: '*Othello* not only simultaneously articulates and resists the cultural commonplaces and norms of its own time but actually helps to create the 'common sense' of race in the Western world.'[1] This chapter surveys a panoply of material from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries—maps, emblems, dictionaries, and costume books—to explore the cultural commonplaces that animate Shakespeare's portrait of the 'Moor of Venice.' Set side-by-side with the play, these materials invite us to consider how Shakespeare's tragedy both generates and challenges commonplaces about cultural 'others.' Characterized as 'a free and wheeling stranger, of here and everywhere' (1.1.135–36), Othello invites us to linger on questions of belonging and estrangement as we ask what it might have meant to be *of* a place, and also of *every* place, in Shakespeare's early modern world.

'The Moor of Venice': Atlases, Dictionaries, Emblem Books

Cultural Contexts. Let us start with the play's title. How would Shakespeare and his contemporaries have understood 'Moor'? In *Speaking of the Moor: From 'Alcazar' to 'Othello,'* Emily Bartels crystallizes the problem with our question. There is, she argues, a 'notorious indeterminacy' surrounding the subject of the Moor; he 'does not have a single or pure, culturally or racially bounded identity,' nor did the Moor have a clear religious or geographic rootedness.[2] Instead, the word directed attention outward to a multiplicity of identities. For Shakespeare scholars today, the term raises important questions about the intersections of language, geography, nation, gender, sexuality, religion, and embodied difference in shaping identity in the Renaissance.

For instance, ideas of embodiment and religion were connected in complex ways through the figure of the Moor. In English literature, the Moor was often associated with Islam. As Anthony Barthelemy argues, in the literature of the period Moor could indicate 'the alien, or foreigner,' broadly speaking, or 'any non-Christian'; the subject might be imagined as a 'non-black Muslim, black Christian, or black Muslim.'[3] We hear in this range of classification both religious and somatic characterizations. Othello's body and his beliefs are implicated in the term, even as the specificity of these implications shift from Christian to Muslim to non-Christian, from non-black to black. The etymology of the word itself, deriving from the Greek *mauros* (dark), might seem to evoke a fact about Othello's body – his skin colour – but the word's derivation also suggests a geographical reality, the kingdom of Mauretania: the area of North Africa variously referred to as Morocco, Barbary, and Mauretania.

Atlases and maps. On early modern maps, 'Barbaria' was often featured prominently along the northern border of Africa. As we see with Abraham Ortelius's map of 'Europae', cartographic representation underscored the close proximity of Barbary and Europe.

World map from Abraham Ortelius, *Theatrum orbis terrarum* (Antwerp, 1584). Printed by Christophe Plantin and engraved by Franz Hogenberg. Hand coloured.

'Europae' map from Ortelius, *Theatrum orbis terrarum* (Antwerp, 1584).

Abraham Ortelius's *Theatrum orbis terrarum* (1570), or 'theatre of the world,' was Europe's first printed and bound world atlas. When it was first published in Antwerp in 1570, 'there is no question that it represented a new phenomenon': the ambitious project to represent the known world, in engraved maps and printed descriptions, in a single volume.[4] In it, maps of regions around the globe appear together with descriptions of particular places and inhabitants, local customs and distinctive cultural habits. The Thomas Fisher Library holds a 1584 edition, in Latin, printed in Antwerp.

Immediately well-received, the work underwent many subsequent editions, not only in Latin, but also in an expanding range of Europe's vernaculars, including Dutch, German, French, Spanish and, in 1606, English. Printed in London, the large folio edition was entitled *Theatrum orbis terrarum, The Theatre of the Whole World: Set Forth by that Excellent Geographer Abraham Ortelius.* The conceptual and semantic link between Ortelius's 1606 'Theatre of the Whole World' and early modern theatres, particularly Shakespeare's 'Globe,' draws our attention to the ways in which both cartographers and early modern dramatists were engaged in world-making enterprises.

Not all the burden of foreign identity is placed on the Moor in Shakespeare's *Othello*. Interestingly, it is Desdemona—Othello's Venetian wife—who recalls and sings a song taught to her by her maid named Barbary. This fondly-remembered maid places 'the barbaric' in a close domestic and feminine space and integrates 'Barbary' into Desdemona's familial past. The song itself, however, is hauntingly foreboding. 'My mother had a maid called Barbary,' Desdemona recalls, 'she had a "Song of Willow"... it expressed her fortune, / And she died singing it' (4.2.24; 26–28). It is 'that song' that 'will not go' (4.2.28–29) from Desdemona's mind the night of her murder. She sings it 'like poor Barbary' (4.2.31), and in so doing links past to present, Barbary, barbarism, and the presence of North Africa to Venetian domesticity.

Then as now, world maps marked the borders between Europe and Africa while illuminating the proximity between the two continents. To peruse Ortelius's map of Europe is to discover that Desdemona's household maid and husband are affiliated with a place that, geographically-speaking, situates them as near-neighbours, rather than foreigners from afar. Though the play is set in the multicultural Mediterranean, the possibility of a Barbary maid in an intimately familiar space would not have been far-fetched to early modern Londoners. As Imtiaz Habib has shown, 'in the vast archives of parish churches within London and without, all through the Tudor and Stuart reigns, are voluminous cryptic citations of 'nigro,' 'neger,' 'neygar,' 'blackamore,' 'blackamoor,' 'moor,' 'barbaree,' 'barbaryen,' 'Ethiopian,' and 'Indian'.'[5]

As we will see momentarily, costume books in the period present a range of ideas about the embodiment of the Moor. It would not have been clear, by reference to the word Moor alone, whether one was white, black or – to borrow a term from the period used to describe Africans, Asians, and Native Americans alike – 'tawny.' This directs our attention to an important fact of the early modern period: race-thinking in Shakespeare's England did not orbit *primarily* around ideas of skin colour. Stories that were circulating—in both travel literature and on London's stages—about the diversity of human appearance around the globe often focused on clothing, language, diet, cultural customs, 'habits', and practices, as well as skin. Ideas about racial difference in this period were complexly intertwined with ideas of sexual difference and with stories about the various ways different cultures construed endogamy and exogamy, that is, marriage within or outside of one's culturally-defined religious and societal group. The marriage of the Venetian Desdemona to the 'Moor of Venice' puts the matter of marriage and sexual union squarely at the centre of the play's concerns with cross-cultural encounter.

Venice itself, as a global hub for commerce and a point of contact and conflict with the Ottoman East, serves as an emblem of cross-cultural exchange against which London audiences measured their own cosmopolitanism. That Shakespeare's Othello is a 'Moor *of* Venice' raises important questions that scholars and critics continue to debate: would audiences have considered Othello an integrated 'dual, rather than a divided identity'[6]—a figure of both / and, of here *and* everywhere—; or was he thought of as a 'walking paradox, a contradiction in terms'[7]—an either / or character whose contradictions bring about his tragic demise? Through the figure of the Moor, the play invites its audiences to ponder a larger question: just when and how does the sometime-stranger belong?

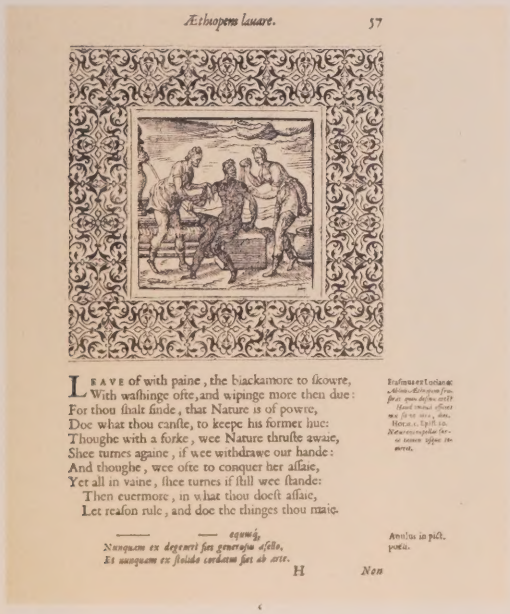
Dictionaries and Emblem books. The geographic, religious, and somatic meaning of the Moor in this period makes possible a whole web of associations into which the character of Othello is woven. For instance, we witness a degree of semantic elasticity around the term in dictionaries from the period. In his 1623 *English Dictionary* (see Chapter 4), Henry Cockeram includes the headword 'black-moore,' glossing the term: 'Ethyope.' This gloss directs attention to a particular region of the globe, Aethiopia. We notice on contemporary seventeenth-century maps of Africa—(for example, see below)—the prominence given to 'the Aethiopian Ocean,' a classical name for what today's English speakers now call the southern part of the Atlantic Ocean.

Map of Africa from Peter Heylyn, *Cosmographie in Four Books* (London, 1670).

The cultural associations surrounding Moors were far less settled than Cockeram's dictionary entry might suggest. The word would have reminded many Renaissance readers of the biblical passage, Jeremiah 13.23. The verse, as it appears in the *Geneva Bible,* reads: 'Can the black Moor change his skin? Or the leopard his spots? Then may ye also do good, that are accustomed to do evil.' In the *Geneva Bible*, these lines suggest a degree of optimism about conversion through faith.

In other cultural contexts, however, the opposite lesson is conveyed through the proverbial difficulty of washing the Ethiope white. In this proverb, there is little room for optimism about the power of conversion. We see this in Sir Thomas Elyot's *Bibliotheca Eliotae*, which was published posthumously in 1548. As we discovered in 'Shakespeare's Tongues,' dictionaries of this period regularly offered more than knowledge about individual words. As in the case of Sir Thomas Elyot's *Dictionary* (1531), which was later reissued as the *Bibliotheca Eliotae: Eliots Librarie,* dictionaries were also encyclopedias offering readers knowledge of objects, people, and places, both historical and mythological. They make an excellent resource for understanding contradictions and shifts in cultural thinking. When the proverb about washing the Ethiope appears in *Bibliotheca Eliotae,* it is explained as 'a proverbe applied to hym that praiseth a thyng that is naught, or teacheth a foole wisedom' (C4v). To 'wash an Aethiope' was a proverbial way of describing that which is impossible, a vain enterprise.

We hear these ideas circulate in Geffrey Whitney's 1586 *A Choice of Emblemes*, which included the proverb of 'Aethiopem lavare':


Æthiopem lauare. 57

LEAVE of with paine, the blackamore to scowre,
With washinge ofte, and wipinge more then due:
For thou shalt finde, that Nature is of powre,
Doe what thou canste, to keepe his former hue:
Thoughe with a forke, wee Nature thruste awaie,
Shee turnes againe, if wee withdrawe our hande:
And thoughe, wee ofte to conquer her assaie,
Yet all in vaine, shee turnes if still wee stande:
Then euermore, in what thou doest assaie,
Let reason rule, and doe the thinges thou maie.

Nunquam ex degeneri sus generosa asello,
Et unquam ex fœdâ cordatum fuit ab arte.

H Non

'Aethiopem lavare' from Whitney's 'Choice of Emblemes'; a facsimile reprint (London, 1866).

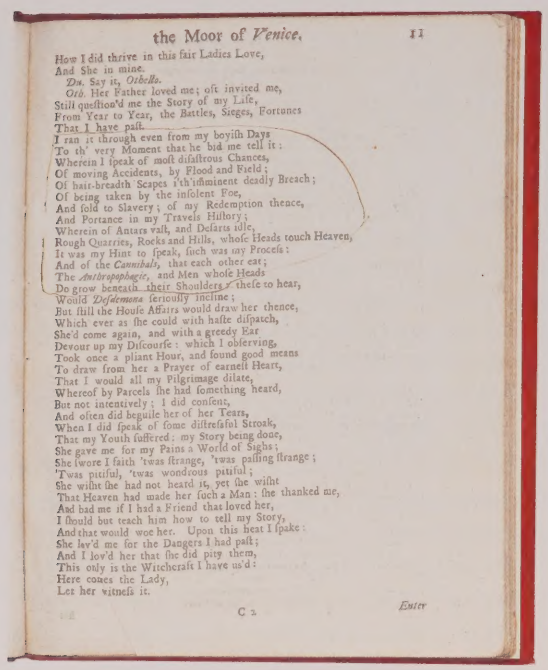
If this emblem seems to demonize the 'aethiopem,' the legacy of this idea about African difference—as both religious and somatic—by no means would have overdetermined how Shakespeare's audiences understood Othello's outward and inward difference from his Venetian peers. We are reminded time and again in *Othello* that the Moor could be, and often was, 'admired and reviled at almost the same time'.[8] Addressed by the Duke of Venice as 'valiant Othello,' (1.3.49) Othello's eloquent speech to the Venetian senate regarding how he wooed and won Desdemona is so beautifully wrought that the Duke confesses: 'I think this tale would win my daughter too' (1.3.171). Othello emerges from Act 1 as both an admired eloquent orator and a valued valiant warrior. And yet, if this man *of* Venice is lauded as a valiant warrior *for* Venice, he is also characterized in the opening act as a 'thief,' 'an abuser of the world,' (1.2.78), an inhuman 'thing' (1.2.71).

We hear these negative characterizations as Desdemona's father, Brabantio, challenges his daughter's marriage to Othello with a slew of hateful, xenophobic language:

> O thou foul thief, where has thou stowed my daughter?
> Damned as thou art, thou has enchanted her! [...]
> If she in chains of magic were not bound
> Whether a maid so tender, fair, and happy,
> So opposite to marriage that she shunned
> The wealthy curled darlings of our nation,
> Would ever have, t'incur a general mock,
> Run from her guardage [guardianship] to the sooty bosom
> Of such a thing as thou – to fear, not to delight.
> (1.2.62–71)

Brabantio's cruel screed attempts to transform 'valiant Othello' in the eyes of the Venetian senators, into a 'thing' feared. He can only imagine that 'chains of magic'—negative, black magic—drew Desdemona to Othello's 'sooty bosom.' Soon after, however, the Duke admonishes Brabantio: 'Your son-in-law is far more fair than black' (1.3.292). While this is a defence of Othello—and of Desdemona's choice to marry the Moor—it is hardly a rousing one since the logic of the defence participates in Brabantio's race-thinking. The Duke reiterates—he does not reject—the distinction between fairness and blackness that structures Brabantio's difference-thinking (Desdemona is 'fair' while Othello is 'sooty'). However, unlike Brabantio, the Duke suggests that Othello can be *both* simultaneously (inwardly fair and outwardly black). And yet, these remain *opposed* conditions; Othello is 'more fair than black.' By means of exchanges like these, Shakespeare invites his audience to ponder whether a valiant Moor *of* Venice might ever become an insider: kin with those who are themselves *from* Venice. Or, does being a Moor of Venice forever un-moor Othello from belonging?

Othello, in his own words. If Othello is characterized by Venetians in terms that mystify his geographic, cultural, and religious origins, the stories he shares about himself direct attention to the many worlds with which he is familiar. Describing the stories of his past that captivated Desdemona, Othello reflects on 'my travailous history' (1.3.139). These tales of exotic adventure—of travel and travail—seduce the Venetian Desdemona, much like similar stories and images that enthralled Shakespeare's readers in the form of printed atlases and travel accounts. As the opening act's most eloquent orator, Othello takes his audience on this journey with him – a power of conveyance that Desdemona's



the Moor of *Venice*. 11

How I did thrive in this fair Ladies Love,
And She in mine.
Duk. Say it, *Othello.*
Oth. Her Father loved me; oft invited me,
Still queſtion'd me the Story of my Life,
From Year to Year, the Battles, Sieges, Fortunes
That I have paſt.
I ran it through even from my boyiſh Days
To th' very Moment that he bid me tell it:
Wherein I ſpeak of moſt diſaſtrous Chances,
Of moving Accidents, by Flood and Field;
Of hair-breadth 'Scapes i'th'imminent deadly Breach;
Of being taken by the inſolent Foe,
And ſold to Slavery; of my Redemption thence,
And Portance in my Travels Hiſtory;
Wherein of Antars vaſt, and Deſarts idle,
Rough Quarries, Rocks and Hills, whoſe Heads touch Heaven,
It was my Hint to ſpeak, ſuch was my Proceſs:
And of the *Cannibals*, that each other eat;
The *Anthropophagie*, and Men whoſe Heads
Do grow beneath their Shoulders. This to hear,
Would *Deſdemona* ſeriouſly incline;
But ſtill the Houſe Affairs would draw her thence,
Which ever as ſhe could with haſte diſpatch,
She'd come again, and with a greedy Ear
Devour up my Diſcourſe: which I obſerving,
Took once a pliant Hour, and found good means
To draw from her a Prayer of earneſt Heart,
That I would all my Pilgrimage dilate,
Whereof by Parcels ſhe had ſomething heard,
But not intentively: I did conſent,
And often did beguile her of her Tears,
When I did ſpeak of ſome diſtreſsful Stroak,
That my Youth ſuffered: my Story being done,
She gave me for my Pains a World of Sighs:
She ſwore I faith 'twas ſtrange, 'twas paſſing ſtrange;
'Twas pitiful, 'twas wondrous pitiful;
She wiſht ſhe had not heard it, yet ſhe wiſht
That Heaven had made her ſuch a Man: ſhe thanked me,
And bad me if I had a Friend that loved her,
I ſhould but teach him how to tell my Story,
And that would woe her. Upon this heat I ſpake:
She lov'd me for the Dangers I had paſt;
And I lov'd her that ſhe did pity them,
This only is the Witchcraft I have us'd:
Here comes the Lady,
Let her witneſs it.

C 2 *Enter*

Othello, the Moor of Venice: a tragedy: as it hath been divers times acted at the Globe, and at the Black-Friers: and now at the Theatre Royal, by Her Majesties servants (London 1705), page 11. Interestingly, this quarto is a copy marked up for performance. The passage of Othello's speech that has been circled was marked for deletion in performance.

father sees as part of Othello's dangerous allure. Yet, what Brabantio characterizes as witchcraft might also be understood as an ability to translate the strangeness of the world beyond Venetian culture to those who have never left its borders.

In Othello's telling of it, his 'travailous history' (or, as it appears in the First Folio, 'Trauellours historie', or in the 1705 Quarto, above, 'Travels History') is deeply shaped by always being on the move. It is marriage that ultimately holds out both the promise and threat of domesticating Othello, but even this homely bargain is depicted by the Moor on a global scale: 'But that I love the gentle Desdemona, / I would not my unhoused free condition / Put into circumscription and confine / For the sea's worth' (1.2.25–28). Unhoused, unmoored, and free, Othello's condition before marriage —worth the whole sea to him—was that of being here *and* everywhere.

Dressing Venetian Women and Moorish Men: Costume Books

Cesare Vecellio's *Habiti antichi et moderni di tutto il mondo* ('The Clothing, ancient and modern, of the whole world') was a popular Italian costume book in which the rich diversity of fashion from around the world was displayed and celebrated. First published in 1590 as '*Degli habiti antichi et moderni di diverse parti del mondo* ('Of the clothing, ancient and modern, of diverse parts of the world'), the Italian edition included 420 illustrations of Italian as well as European, African, and Asian fashions. The second edition (the Thomas Fisher copy pictured here), published in Venice in 1598, expanded to include one hundred more plates. Written

'Perspettiva della Prima Piazza di San Marco' in Cesare Vecellio, *Habiti antichi et moderni di tutto il mondo* (Venice, 1598).

in both Italian and Latin, this edition's descriptive text was expanded to include representations of apparel from the New World.

The costume book generated appetite for new and different textiles and accessories, precisely the market in worldly goods for which Venice itself was celebrated.

'Habiti usati dalle donne di Venetia del 1550' in Vecellio, *Habiti antichi et moderni di tutto il mondo* (Venice, 1598).

'Moro di conditione' or the 'Maurus nobilis,' in Vecellio, *Habiti antichi et moderni di tutto il mondo* (Venice, 1598).

'Mori neri dell'Africa' or the 'Moro de Barbaria' in Vecellio, *Habiti antichi et moderni di tutto il mondo* (Venice, 1598).

The diversity of Venetian fashion throughout history is robustly represented on its pages, as we see with this image of the fashion of Venetian women in the mid-sixteenth century. The first line of the description of the Venetian woman reads, 'The changeability and love of variety that governs women soon led them to wear curls on their foreheads.'[9] The changeability of women was a pervasive trope in the Renaissance, one meant to disparage women as emotionally inconstant and, potentially, sexually ungovernable by fathers and husbands. While Vecellio's description of the 'love of variety' that characterizes Venetian women's changing fashion may strike a reader today as a celebratory account of Italian fashion forwardness, the idea that women are changeable was a widely-rehearsed negative refrain in the patriarchal discourses of the period.

In the first act of *Othello*, for instance, Desdemona, a Venetian, has married Othello without her father's consent. She is disparaged harshly by Brabantio precisely for her changeable affections. Her father addresses Othello with words that register more as a threat than a warning: 'Look to her, Moor, if though hast eyes to see. / She has deceived her father, and may thee' (1.3.290–291). Later, the villain, Iago, plays the part of Othello's seeming confidant when he admonishes him of the crafty deceptiveness of Venetian women: 'I know our country disposition well,' Iago emphasizes, drawing a sharp distinction between his knowledge as an 'insider' and Othello's status as a cultural 'outsider', '[i]n Venice they do let God see the pranks / They dare not show their husbands; their best conscience / Is not to leave't undone, but keep't unknown' (3.3.204–207). Here, Iago traffics in the kind of local cultural knowledge that is also circulating in the descriptive content of contemporary atlases and the period's costume books regarding the habits, tempera ments, and fashions of people around the globe.

Iago's villainy works on Othello's imagination, raising doubt in Othello's mind about the constancy of Desdemona's love, and her sexual fidelity. We know Iago's malicious ideas have taken root when Othello's confidence in his beloved wanes and he begins to rehearse his doubts in similarly misogynistic terms: 'Oh, curse of marriage / That we can call these delicate creatures ours / And not their appetites!' (3.3.271–273). Othello's belief that his devoted wife might deceive him turns, in part, on ideas circulating both within the play and in ethnographic descriptions, like those found in Vecellio's costume book, regarding the 'changeability and love of variety' typical of Venetian women. Provocatively, it is Iago—the play's villain—who gives voice to these cultural commonplaces in Shakespeare's play. One wonders, then, whether Shakespeare's audiences were all the more encouraged to question, rather than accept, the commonplaces Iago mobilizes to bring about his plot.

What divides Othello and Desdemona also unites them. Though it is important to recognize that Iago's characterizations of Othello are motivated by hate ('I hate the Moor' (1.3.375)), and so audiences—then as now—are encouraged to be skeptical of his characterizations of Othello, the *ideas* Iago expresses are nonetheless powerful commonplaces that offer a window onto more than the singular mind of the play's villain. Iago's *way of thinking* about Othello, and about women, directs attention to the entanglements between ideas about cultural difference and gender difference in the period. Early in the play Iago insists, 'these Moors are

changeable in their wills,' (1.3.340–341); it is this notion of Moorish mutability, together with descriptions of the Venetian Desdemona's ungovernable sexual appetite, that link femininity with Moorishness through the powerful trope of changeability.

If in Shakespeare's play, Moors, like women, are 'changeable in their wills,' in Vecellio's costume book, 'Moor' is a category that cannot be pinned down. Throughout the costume book, single figures model their regional fashions: headdresses, armour, foot wear, decorative accessories, embroidery, jewelry, gowns, and more. In a chapter on the habits of Africa, Vecellio offers his readers a portrait of the 'Maurus nobilis,' or the Noble Moor, as well as the 'Moro de Barbaria,' also called a 'Moor of Africa'

Though Othello describes himself as 'black' at one moment in the play (3.3.266), in the 'round unvarnished tale' (1.3.91) he delivers about his 'travailous history' (1.3.139), we learn that his journeys conveyed him across a geography of difference whose coordinates span from northern to southern Africa, Europe to the vaguely defined edges of the Ottoman Empire. This 'Moor of Venice' exceeds even the multiplicity of classifications found in a Venetian's costume book.

More than a volume of the world's fashions, *Degli habiti antichi et moderni di diverse parti del mondo* participated in a cross-genre exchange of ethnographic detail about people and place, fueling curiosity about the diversity of the world's inhabitants. As Valerie Traub reminds us, 'just as publishers of costume books pirated images from voyage illustrations for their collections, mapmakers copied images from costume books for map borders.'[10] These representations of cultural variation and habit literally framed the world.

Picturing Worlds: Maps and Atlases

For readers of early modern maps, Vecellio's 'Noble Moor' and 'Moor of Barbary' would have seemed prepared to step out of the frame of this costume book and onto the border of any number of early modern maps. On maps and in costume books, these images began to function like emblems, standing in as representatives of a nation or region's character.

'Africae' map in John Speed's *Prospect of the Most Famous Parts of the World* (London, 1662).

Frontispiece to Abraham Ortelius, *Theatrum orbis terrarum* (Antwerp, 1584).

Renaissance maps conveyed both geographic and ethnographic information. John Speed, England's most celebrated early seventeenth-century cartographer, published *The Theatre of the Empire of Great Britaine* (1610/11), which provided detailed county maps of England and Wales, together with maps of Scotland and Ireland. Later in his life, Speed also published the first world atlas created by an Englishman: *Prospect of the Most Famous Parts of the World*. The *Prospect*, initially published in 1627, includes a map of 'Africae,' pictured left. Here, city views adorn the top horizontal axis while human figures run along the outside vertical axes. A diverse array of figures and fashions are featured, from a partially clad, dark skinned 'Congensis' man donning a feathered headdress in the lower left corner to, in the upper right corner, a fully clad Aegyptian whose somatic features are almost entirely obscured by the heavy drapery of his headdress and clothing. The diversity of ethnographic detail is as striking as the density of geographic information on the continent itself.

Frontispieces of atlases were also conveying ideas about differences between the inhabitants of the four continents. The frontispiece of Ortelius's *Theatrum orbis terrarum* offers a tidy allegorical portrait of the distinctiveness of the world's continents and their inhabitants. Atop sits the figure of Europa holding a globe and sceptre. She is fully dressed in a gown whose palette draws upon the dominant reds, blues, and golds of the architecture that surrounds her. In the Thomas Fisher copy the frontispiece is hand-coloured. A viewer of this copy is likely struck by the ways in which the blues of Europe's gown are repeated in the globes that surround her, creating the subtle suggestion that, among her counterparts—Asia, Africa, and America—Europe's offering is the art of cartography itself. Below (left), Asia stands draped in rich apparel holding a perfumed censer, a reminder of the many fragrant spices drawing Europeans East to trade for much-desired spices. Africa (right) appears only partly clad and dons atop her head a halo of fire. Reclining at the base of this 'theatre of the world' is America with her hammock, bows, and arrows. She holds in her hand a

Frontispiece to Peter Heylyn's *Cosmographie in Foure Books* (London, 1670).

severed head—a reminder, no doubt, not only of travellers' accounts of the New World and its inhabitants, which were popular in Europe during this period, but also of the risks and dangers attendant on global encounters.

First published in 1657, Peter Heylyn's *Cosmographie in foure Bookes, Contayning the Chorographie & Historie of the whole World and all the Principall Kingdomes, Provinces, Seas, and Isles, Thereof* elaborates his earlier *Microcosmus, or a little Description of the Great World* (1621), expanding it from a smaller octavo of 418 pages to a great folio of well over a thousand pages. The frontispiece of Heylyn's work (pictured) presents the whole world under the auspices of a divinely benevolent sun, whose rays spread across a wide swath of sea. Floating on the surface of the sea is a scroll that reads *Spiritus domini ferebatus super aquas* ('the spirit of God moved upon the waters'), a phrase from Genesis 1.2, quoted on Heylyn's frontispiece in the Vulgate's Latin.

As the opening to this ambitious project of world-making and cosmos-writing, this phrase about the world's creation takes on global, geographical, and political significance. Beneath images of the sun and the sea, figures of all four continents appear, as they do on Ortelius's frontispiece. Their arrangements, however, suggest alternative possibilities for contact and interaction. Europe, Africa, Asia, and America appear in four columns: first, in a row of female allegorical figures, all kneeling in offering to the spherical globe above them. On a parallel surface below, four male figures in military dress appear, accompanied by regionally specific weapons and animals. While Ortelius's four allegorical figures are separated and fixed in hierarchy by the architectural design of the page, the figures on Heylyn's frontispiece are levelled. Four male and four female figures share a distinctively gendered ground. Though differently attired and accessorized, the allegorical women and the ethnographically-depicted men nonetheless exist in the world together. A viewer can almost imagine these characters in conversation, like the figures on Berlemont's frontispiece (Chapter 4), as they turn their admiring attention to Heylyn's cosmographical project.

Like the plot of *Othello*, which traverses land and sea,

World map by Frederick de Wit in Hendrik Doncker's *De Zee-atlas, ofte Water-Waereld* (Amsterdam, 1666).

seventeenth-century atlases mapped both earth and water. Hendrik Doncker's 1666 *De Zee-atlas, ofte Water-Waereld,* offers a particularly striking example. Elaborate folios like Doncker's were richly illustrated, offering a colorful view onto the earth's 'water-world', as his title suggests. The edition included in the exhibition includes thirty-two charts, engraved by Frederick de Wit. A resident of Amsterdam, Doncker was one of the many Dutch contributors to the art and science of mapmaking. He was a prolific creator of sea-atlases and pilot-guides in an era in which a desire for knowledge as well as profit drove Dutch travelers and colonizers around the globe. 'Doncker was the first to produce a successful atlas of worldwide charts' notes Martin Woods. Indeed, '[u]ntil the 1650s, Dutch navigation charts were rarely published; they were considered part of the secret stock of information that supported the trade of the VOC,' the Dutch United East India Company.[11] This double-hemisphere arrangement splays the world in two as it attempts to represent the surface of the globe as eastern and western hemispheres; the bottom right and left corners of the map feature both the 'Circulus Arcticus' and 'Circulus Antarcticus.' Unlike the now-familiar Mercator projection – also an invention of the Renaissance – this double-hemisphere map has the effect of provincializing Europe, making Africa the central focus, while Europe appears dwarfed by comparison.

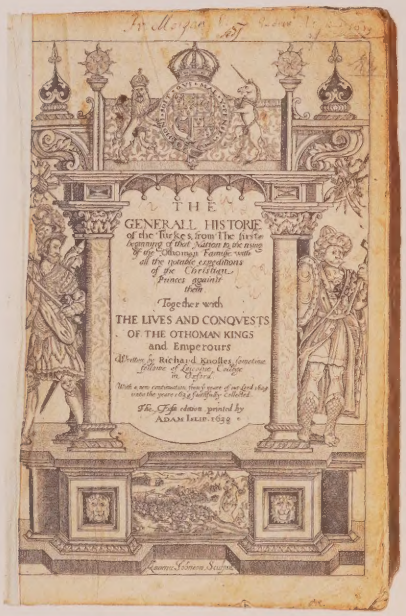
Yet, even a glance at this double-hemisphere map reminds us that Doncker was thinking of the globe as a 'water-world.' The larger landmasses take up less than half of the space of the world's oceans. The scenes displayed above and below the hemispheres evoke the allegorical legacy of land atlases, here with Earth 'Terra', Water 'Aqua', Fire 'Ingnis', and Air 'Aer' serving as personified counterparts to the ethnographic depictions of America, Asia, Africa, and Europe that often nestled into the edges of world maps. An earthly cornucopia of fruit and flowers frame the map's borders while Doncker's seas are conspicuously free of the ships and sea-monsters that speckle the surface of so many nautical charts in the period. While Doncker draws upon a long-established representational idiom in his personification of the Elements, the lack of any human interaction—the trade and commerce, as well as cultural and sexual transactions that his atlas of sea-charts enabled—, works to obscure the darker side of Europe's colonial ambitions in this period. Here the seas appear free of the Barbary pirates, Venetian navies, Turkish fleets, and storms that animated both the real and imagined geographies of Shakespeare's water-worlds.

Europe, Cyprus, and the Turks: Maps and Chronicles

The narrative of *Othello* is driven by trouble at sea: an imminent conflict with the Turkish fleet. At the end of Act 1, Othello and his entourage are sent to Cyprus to engage the Turkish ships. The battle is never consummated. We learn, upon the cast's arrival in Cyprus, that the Turkish fleet has been destroyed by storms at sea. As anti-climactic as this rendition is, it leaves Othello and Desdemona on the contested island of Cyprus to play out another kind of battle, domestic rather than international, homely rather than worldly. Or, so it would seem. The destruction of the Turkish fleet opens a space into which the play's domestic tragedy unfolds and in so doing invites us to consider the particularity of this Mediterranean place.

War with the Turks was a live possibility and real existential threat for Shakespeare's audience, a reality that is difficult for us to fathom today when we look at a map of the distance between England and Cyprus. In the sixteenth century, the Ottomans were expanding their empire and, by 1571, had conquered Cyprus. English readers were learning about the powerful Ottoman Empire not only by attending theatre, but by reading chronicles, too.

The first chronicle written in English on the political, military, and cultural aspects of the Ottoman Empire, Richard Knolles' *The Generall Historie of the Turkes,* was first printed in 1603. It conveys on its opening pages England's divided fascination and fear, admiration for and disparagement of the Turks: 'The glorious Empire of the Turkes, the present terrour of the world.'[12] Some scholars have suggested that Shakespeare may have read and consulted Knolles' *Historie* in the writing of *Othello.*[13]


THE
GENERALL HISTORIE
of the Turkes, from The first
beginning of that Nation to the rising
of the Ottoman Family: with
all the warres, expeditions
of the Christian
Princes against
them
Together with
THE LIVES AND CONQVESTS
OF THE OTHOMAN KINGS
and Emperours
Written by Richard Knolles, sometime
Student in Christ-Church, Oxford
In Oxford
With a new continuation from the yeare of our Lord 1603
vnto the yeare 1638 faithfully Collected
The Title drawn printed by
ADAM ISLIP 1638

Frontispiece to Richard Knolles, *The Generall Historie of the Turkes* (London, 1638).

In his introduction addressed to 'the Christian Reader,' Knolles describes the Turks as both 'an obscure and base people, before scarce knowne unto the world, yet fierce and courageous.' Written by a schoolteacher and historian, and dedicated to King James I of England, the *Historie* characterizes the 'Turkish Empire' as 'of all others now upon earth far the greatest.'[14] A massive twelve hundred folio pages in length, the work expanded with subsequent editions released in 1610, 1621, 1631, 1638 (see above), 1679, 1687–1700 (printed in three volumes), and 1701, when an abridged edition was released. The frontispiece features two martial

figures, clad in their respective armours, flanking the right and left columns; though their attire is distinctive, it isn't immediately apparent that these two figures represent a Christian knight and Muslim soldier. Unlike the frontispiece of Heylyn's *Cosmographie*, which lends titles to each figure on its frontispiece, or the frontispiece of Abraham Ortelius's *Theatrum orbis terrarum*, which hierarchically situates a personification of Europe atop the page, here it is left to the viewer to discern cultural and religious difference. These are symmetrical and complementary figures, matched in scale and detail. A cross adorns one shield, while crescent moons adorn the other. But on this frontispiece, no engagement transpires between the figures themselves. Static, they appear as if each were a portrait sealed off from the theatre of military encounter that is the topic of the *Historie* itself. Neither casts their gaze to the theatre of war on display in the scene just below their feet. The kinetic scene of military skirmish reminds readers of something the period's drama would not have allowed English audiences to forget: that though Europe's encounters with the Ottoman Empire had long been commercial, cultural, and political, they were also ongoingly martial.

In *Othello*, the Turks who 'with a most mighty preparation mak[e] for Cyprus' (1.3.220–221) —catalyzing the deployment of the Venetian navy in the play's opening act —ultimately never appear. By the time Othello and his crew arrive in Cyprus, they learn that 'our wars are done, the Turks are drowned' (2.1.197), having been defeated by a 'desperate

Map of Cyprus in Abraham Ortelius, *Theatrum orbis terrarum* (Antwerp 1584).

tempest' (2.1.21), a story that likely reminded English audiences of another apparent divine intervention that turned the winds their way in the defeat of the Spanish Armada in 1588.

According to Knolles, 'The Venetians had ever had great care of the island of Cyprus, as lying farre from them, in the middest of the sworne enemies of the Christian religion, and had therefore oftentimes determined to have fortified the same.'[15] Sixteenth- and seventeenth-century cartographic representations of Cyprus illustrate just how engulfed Cyprus was by the borders of the Turkish Empire. In this regard, Ortelius's map of Cyprus in the *Theatrum orbis terrarum* (1584) is something of an exception. The Thomas Fisher's exquisitely hand-coloured depiction of the island, pictured below, fills the page's frame, sweeping in a strong diagonal line from bottom left to top right. Nothing but the ships lingering around the island's edges prepare the reader of this atlas to imagine the island's perilous proximity with the Turkish empire. As is still the case today, Cyprus for early modern Europeans represented a contested hub, a place of contact and conflict on the fringes of Europe. Whether studying Africa, Europe, or the Turkish Empire, readers of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century maps were constantly encountering Cyprus, a contact zone for both real and imagined Christian and Muslim exchange.

Cyprus serves as a kind of geographical limit case, a place that marks the crossroads and borderlands between Europe and the Ottoman Empire. Notice, for instance, how Cyprus appears to mark Europe's southeastern limits on the 'Europa' map in Heylyn's *Cosmographie*. Tucked into the bottom lower right corner, the island seems to emphasize the narrowness of the distance between Africa, Anatolia, and southern Europe. So too, Cyprus marks the northeastern limits of the African continent on Heylyn's map of 'Africae' (see p. 56). Situated above the words 'Mediterranean Sea,' and just left of the titling cartouche of the map, Cyprus seems at once to belong to and stray from the geographical focus of this map.

John Speed's map of 'The Turkish Empire,' in *Prospect of the Most Famous Parts of the World*, situates Cyprus at the centre of the map, just to the centre left of the fold. Visually, the island appears to have drifted into the embrace of the empire. Historically, Cyprus was invaded by the Turks in 1570, and the Ottomans took control in 1571. Around the same time, off the coast of Greece, Ottoman forces faced off against the Catholic Holy League in the Battle of Lepanto, a much-celebrated Christian naval victory that halted the Ottoman move westward and was celebrated in Europe as saving Christian Europe from 'infidels.' All this, thirty years before *Othello* was first performed in London. Though we cannot say how familiar Shakespeare's audiences were with the details of these battles, Cyprus was well-known as a lost holding in the eastern Mediterranean, and, by reputation, the Turkish siege of Cyprus was thought to have been particularly brutal.[16] King James I (then James VI of Scotland) even described it in a 1585 poem on the Battle of Lepanto.

In fact, the setting of Shakespeare's *Othello* on Venetian Cyprus places it in past time, prior to the Turkish victory. The setting marks the play's engagement with Mediterranean history and geography as part of an imaginative enterprise: neither here nor there, now nor then, Cyprus operates like a parenthesis that brackets together both real and imagined worlds. 'English audiences watching a play set in Cyprus under Venetian rule would have interpreted this setting as a vulnerable outpost that was destined to be swallowed up by the Turks and converted to Islamic rule,' writes Daniel Vitkus.[17] Even so, the play offers audiences Cyprus as a place emblematic of the in-betweenness of its tragic hero. On the borders of Europe, containing both East and West, Cyprus encapsulates the play's central paradoxes: like Othello, it is neither here nor there while it is also – powerfully and tragically – of both here and everywhere.

'Europae' in Heylyn's *Cosmographie* (London, 1670).

Turning Turk: Conversion Crises at Home and Abroad

In *Othello,* the 'Turk' is doubly present on the stage both as the enemy that drives Othello and the Venetian army to Cyprus in the opening of the play and, somewhat less transparently, in the figure of Othello himself. For early modern theatre audiences, Turks were familiar characters on the English stage. Their presence, often demonized, emphasized the ways in which Christian religious identity could be put at risk as a result of commercial and cultural exchange with Turks and 'Barbary pirates.' Theatre audiences watched as Turks converted Christians from Christianity to Islam in what must have been at once terrifying—but also increasingly conventional—scenes of religious conversion. Even the titles of plays, such as Robert Daborne's *A Christian Turn'd Turk* (1611), were making evident the risks of trading with cultural 'others', particularly along the African coast and into the Mediterranean.

At the opening of Shakespeare's play, Othello himself underscores a distinction between Christians and Turks when, having arrived in Cyprus only to find his own army divided against itself in a brawl, he asks, 'Are we turned Turks, and to ourselves do that / Which heaven hath forbid the Ottomites?' (2.3.161–162). If this line divides Othello's men from the Ottomans they've been sent to fight, the direction that follows maps this political division onto a broader cultural crisis between civilized self and uncivilized other: 'For Christian shame, put by this barbarous brawl' (2.3.163).

'The Turkish Empire' in Speed's *Prospect of the Most Famous Parts of the World* (London, 1662).

However, at the tragic conclusion of the play, Othello seems to have turned Turk in his own imagination. He turns his sword against himself, ending his life. 'Set you down this,' he requests, 'And say besides that in Aleppo once, / Where a malignant and turbanted Turk / Beat a Venetian and traduced the state, / I took by th' throat the circumcised dog, / And smote him, thus' (5.2.350–355). Is Othello the Christian or the Turk? Has he *turned* from one to the other over the course of the play? Shakespeare does not give us a clear answer, but the drama of indeterminacy here turns on the power of the real and imagined global identities and geographies in play.

It is precisely this question of turning—*conversion* from one religion to another, shifting political loyalties, traversing geographic regions, and transforming from one kind into another—that animated England's imagined and real encounters with Turks and 'Moors' during Shakespeare's lifetime. The topic of conversion was an anxious one in Britain, a kingdom whose own fragile religious reformations from Catholicism to Protestantism, and then back and forth again, were very recent history. No one could be certain of the religious stability of the English throne. Across the British Isles, the potential of yet more religious conversion, and the resulting human cost of ongoing expulsions and refugeeism, must have felt more than a potential reality. In the 1550s Marian exiles left England and, in turn, under Elizabeth I, Catholics fled. Religious wars, reformations, and the resulting expulsions of communities of faith defined the period.

Only in hindsight can we know what Shakespeare's contemporaries could not—that England's Protestant reformations would endure in the transition from the reign of Elizabeth I to that of James I. Given the tremendous upheavals catalyzed by England's official conversion to Protestantism, and the tens of thousands of displaced religious refugees from around Europe whose flight and temporary relocations shaped the Renaissance, conversion was hardly a topic one needed a history lesson to appreciate. The possibility that the self might *become* the other was not merely an exercise of the imagination, nor was it cast only across Christian and Muslim difference. Conversion crises cast abroad on Shakespeare's stage played out very real and present anxieties about conversion close to home.

Shakespeare's portrait of a Moor of 'here and everywhere' opens onto questions of identity and conversion central to the English Renaissance. In costume books, atlases, dictionaries, emblem books, and plays, Renaissance readers and writers were defining the borders of home as they also sought to imagine the diversity of the world's people and places. *Othello's* theatre of the world charts tensions between belonging and estrangement, stability and changeability, self and other that continue to shape the coordinates of our global imagination today.

CHAPTER SIX

Mediation and Imagination: Shakespeare and the Book since the Nineteenth Century

Alan Galey

Printing was a surprisingly conservative industry for much of its early history, with relatively little technological change since Shakespeare's time, but the industrialization of printing in the nineteenth century radically transformed the ways books were designed, produced, and experienced. The book arts have been responding to those changes ever since, and Shakespeare's works have provided fertile ground for reimagining the nature of the book, from illustration, to typography, to format, to binding, to other aspects of physical form. The various forms of books have shaped our experience of Shakespeare, and so, in turn, have Shakespeare's works influenced the forms that books have taken. That mutual relationship between mediation and imagination, as expressed through the history of Shakespearean books, is the subject of the present chapter.

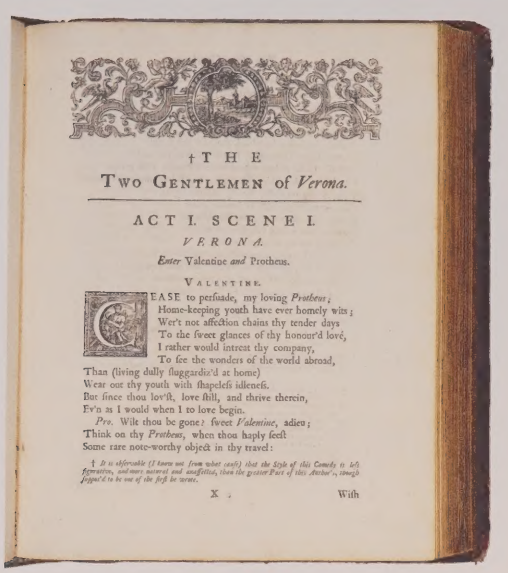
'I forget nothing that you wrote; and shall, while memory holds her seat in this distracted orb': the Victorian character Mr. Punch enjoys a smoke with Shakespeare and discusses his up-coming tercentenary; *Punch*, vol. XLV (26 December 1863), p. iii.

By the beginning of the nineteenth century, Shakespeare's works were understood to be a form of cultural heritage that was preserved and transmitted—however imperfectly—through printed books. Today we would recognize Shakespeare performance as an equally important form of cultural transmission, yet it was not always this way. Most of the so-called Shakespeare plays to be found on stages in the eighteenth century bore little resemblance to the texts we know today. They tended to be adaptations written for playgoers who might have found Elizabethan and Jacobean language, characterization, and structure too antiquated, and not in keeping with modern neoclassical tastes. The major printed editions of Shakespeare in the same period were very different; they became far more concerned with authenticity, scholarship, and the amassing of literary criticism and historical knowledge between the same covers, and often on the same pages, as Shakespeare's texts.

Even the sizes and shapes of those pages made a difference. From Shakespeare's time until the early eighteenth century, a reader would likely encounter his plays either in a quarto or in the large folio volumes into which his dramatic works had been collected four times since 1623, as Peter Blayney's chapter describes. The Fourth Folio was printed in 1685, but in 1709 there appeared an edition that would initiate longstanding trends in the printing of Shakespeare's collected works: it had a named editor, Nicholas Rowe (1664–1718); its format was not quarto or folio, but octavo, which resembles a modern novel in shape and size; it divided the plays among several volumes, thus creating room for illustrations, a biography of Shakespeare, and, in later editions, detailed appendixes as well as commentary and textual notes printed on the same pages as the text; and like virtually all major eighteenth-century English editions of Shakespeare, it was published by the house of Jacob Tonson (1655–1736). It tells us something about the monopolistic role of Tonson and his heirs that 'The Tonson Era' requires not one but two chapters in the definitive history of Shakespeare in print.[2] For the better part of a century, Shakespeare's textual legacy was mostly in the hands of a single publishing cartel.

The succession of editions issued by Tonson over the eighteenth century was anything but homogenous, however. Shakespeare editors in that century tended not to be university-based scholars, but poets and dramatists, with a politician (Thomas Hanmer, 1677–1746), clergyman (William Warburton, 1698–1779), lexicographer (Samuel Johnson, 1709–1784), and lawyer (Edmond Malone, 1741–1812) joining their ranks by the century's end. Literary editing at the time could be downright pugilistic, and eighteenth-century editors were as ready to fight with each other as with the problems they found in Shakespeare's texts. Over time, both kinds of fights left their marks on the pages of Shakespeare editions.

'Show me your image in some antique book': the black papier mâché boards and embossed spine of this collection of quotations, *Sentiments and Similes of William Shakespeare* (London, 1851), combine three Victorian traits: sentimentality, information management, and books as historical relics.



†THE
TWO GENTLEMEN of *Verona.*

ACT I. SCENE I.

VERONA.

Enter Valentine *and* Protheus.

VALENTINE.

CEASE to perſuade, my loving *Protheus*;
Home-keeping youth have ever homely wits;
Wer't not affection chains thy tender days
To the ſweet glances of thy honour'd love,
I rather would intreat thy company,
To ſee the wonders of the world abroad,
Than (living dully ſluggardiz'd at home)
Wear out thy youth with ſhapeleſs idleneſs.
But ſince thou lov'ſt, love ſtill, and thrive therein,
Ev'n as I would when I to love begin.
Pro. Wilt thou be gone? ſweet *Valentine*, adieu;
Think on thy *Protheus*, when thou haply ſeeſt
Some rare note-worthy object in thy travel:

† *It is obſervable (I know not from what cauſe) that the Style of this Comedy is leſs figurative, and more natural and unaffected, than the greater Part of this Author's, though ſuppoſed to be one of the firſt he wrote.*

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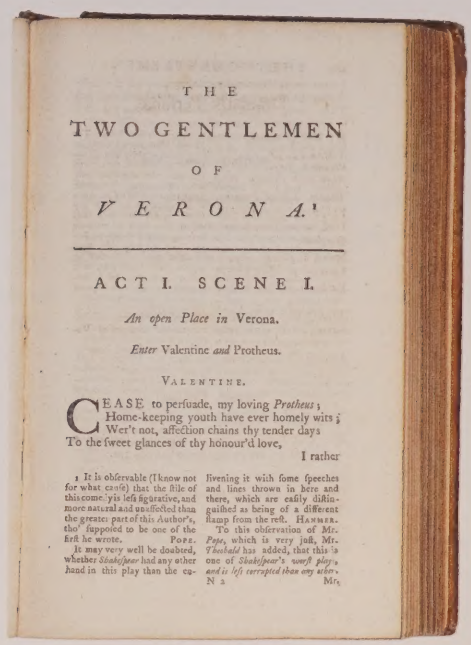


THE
TWO GENTLEMEN
OF
VERONA.[1]

ACT I. SCENE I.

An open Place in Verona.

Enter Valentine *and* Protheus.

VALENTINE.

CEASE to perſuade, my loving *Protheus*;
Home-keeping youth have ever homely wits;
Wer't not, affection chains thy tender days
To the ſweet glances of thy honour'd love,
I rather

1 It is obſervable (I know not for what cauſe) that the ſtile of this comedy is leſs figurative, and more natural and unaffected than the greater part of this Author's, tho' ſuppoſed to be one of the firſt he wrote. POPE.

It may very well be doubted, whether *Shakeſpear* had any other hand in this play than the ſweetning it with ſome ſpeeches and lines thrown in here and there, which are eaſily diſtinguiſhed as being of a different ſtamp from the reſt. HANMER.

To this obſervation of Mr. *Pope*, which is very juſt, Mr. *Theobald* has added, that this is one of *Shakeſpear's* *ſweeſt plays*, *and is leſs corrupted than any other*.

N 2 Mr.

'[W]rite, pen; for I am for whole volumes in folio': editors' notes increasingly elbow Shakespeare's lines off the page in this sampling of major eighteenth-century editions, from Alexander Pope in 1725, to Samuel Johnson in 1765, to Edmond Malone in 1790.

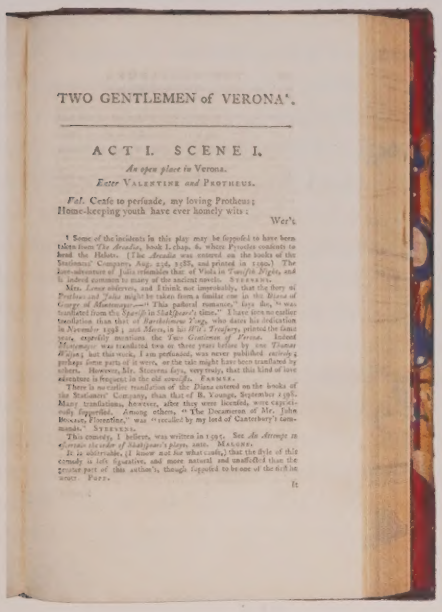
For example, in the 1725 edition of Shakespeare's dramatic works edited by Alexander Pope (1688–1744) and published in six volumes, the notoriously interventionist editor added his own footnotes with judgments of Shakespeare's style here and there, and even demoted into footnotes the lines and passages he deemed poetically unworthy. By 1765, Samuel Johnson's eight-volume edition would take a more curatorial approach, reprinting the annotations of prior editors (including Pope's) with their names carefully affixed, while still reserving space for Johnson to demolish the opinions of those editors (especially Pope) when he felt it necessary. By the time Edmond Malone published his landmark ten-volume edition in 1790, which finally included the poems with the plays, the wealth of prior annotation to reproduce sometimes edged Shakespeare's lines off the page altogether. Malone represents the apex of Shakespearean encyclopedism in the eighteenth century, and the archive of accumulated knowledge, facts, opinions, glosses, commentaries, variant readings, emendations, prefaces, essays, historical records, wild suppositions, desperate theories, and impassioned polemics inherited from this period would provoke very different responses in nineteenth-century book design.[3]

The book in the nineteenth century

Technologically speaking, the craft of printing looked much the same at the end of the eighteenth century as it did in Shakespeare's time. Hand-made paper was laid in sheets on manually operated presses, where they received the impression of type set by hand, after which they were hung to dry, folded into gatherings, and (often) bound—all using tools and techniques that had changed little in three centuries. The same cannot be said of the book at the end of the nineteenth century, thanks to numerous developments in printing technology: machine-made paper (1807); steam-driven presses, made of iron and consuming paper in rolls, not sheets (1814); cloth bindings added by the books' own publishers (1820s); stereotyping, enabling rapid and cheap reprinting (broadly viable by the 1830s); machine-casting of type (1838); hot-metal printing, which cast type moments before its use, and melted it down again moments after (1880s); lithography, which reproduced text and image with equal ease (1798); photography as a means both to illustrate books and to reproduce documents (1840s); and new techniques for colour illustration and ornamentation, including chromolithographic printing (1840s).[4] These and other technological changes helped the book to become a very different object, in terms of manufacture and appearance, at the end of the nineteenth century than it was at the beginning.

The world in which nineteenth-century books circulated had also changed. Many of the technological innovations mentioned above were driven not by book-printing, but by the newspaper industry, which served a growing culture of everyday reading, especially in Victorian England and its colonies. Communications networks emerged that rivaled the magical feats of connectivity and surveillance performed by Shakespeare's fairies Puck and Ariel. While Puck boasts that he can 'put a girdle round about the earth / In forty minutes' (*MND* 2.1.175–6), by 1866 English engineers had laid a stable trans-Atlantic telegraph cable that could transmit messages even faster, and by 1902 the earth was fully encircled. New postal systems circulated letters, new rail networks moved people and materials, and by the nineteenth century's end, the telegraph and telephone transmitted messages in the seemingly intangible form of something called *information*. Literacy increased, libraries proliferated, networks extended, and the printed word was everywhere.

So was Shakespeare, it seems. Rather than consigning his plays and poems to a past left behind by modernity, many of the nineteenth century's readers, audiences, performers,



TWO GENTLEMEN of VERONA.

ACT I. SCENE I.

An open place in Verona.

Enter VALENTINE *and* PROTHEUS.

Val. Cease to perswade, my loving Protheus:
Home-keeping youth have ever homely wits:
Wer't

[1] Some of the incidents in this play may be supposed to have been taken from *The Arcadia*, book I. chap. 6. where Pyrocles contents to bear the Habits. [The *Arcadia* was entered on the books of the Stationers' Company, Aug. 23d, 1588, and printed in 1590.] The love-adventure of Julia resembles that of Viola in *Twelfth Night*, and is indeed common to many of the ancient novels. STEEVENS.

Mrs. *Lenox* observes, and I think not improbably, that the story of *Protheus* and *Julia* might be taken from a similar one in the *History of George de Montemayor*.—"This pastoral romance," says she, "was translated from the *Spanish* in *Shakspeare's* time." There was no earlier translation than that of *Bartholomew Yong*, who dates his dedication in November 1598; and *Meres*, in his *Wit's Treasury*, printed the same year, expressly mentions the *Two Gentlemen of Verona*. Indeed *Montemayor* was translated ten or three years before by one *Thomas Wyatt*; but this work, I am perfuaded, was never published entirely; perhaps some parts of it were, or the tale might have been translated by others. However, Mr. Steevens fays, very truly, that this kind of love adventure is frequent in the old *novelists*. FARMER.

There is no earlier translation of the *Diana* entered on the books of the Stationers' Company, than that of B. Younge, September 1598. Many translations, however, after they were licenfed, were especially fuppreffed. Among others, "The Decameron of Mr. John Bocace, Florentine," was "recalled by my lord of Canterbury's commands." STEEVENS.

This comedy, I believe, was written in 1595. See *An Attempt to afcertain the order of Shakfpeare's plays*, 1ath. MALONE.

It is obfervable, (I know not for what caufe,) that the ftyle of this comedy is lefs figurative, and more natural and unaffected than the greateft part of this author's, though fuppofed to be one of the firft in order. PERY.

It

'How goes the night, boy?': shadows loom as Banquo and Fleance await Macbeth in Laurence Hyde's headpiece from *Engravings for Macbeth* (Toronto: Golden Dog Press, c1939).

artists, and printers reinvented Shakespeare's works and adapted them for new worlds and new media. Indeed, Shakespeare shows up with remarkable frequency whenever inventors in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries demonstrate new technologies, from photography, to the telephone, to sound recording, to early film with synchronized audio.[5]

The changing form of the book through this period reflects the cultural history of Shakespeare's reception and reinterpretation. That history, as we shall see, was often composed of paradoxes. Shakespeare was regarded as high literature, yet also as information that could be fragmented, recontextualized, and recirculated for different purposes. His works increasingly functioned as monuments to English cultural achievement—literalized in the tomb-like papier mâché binding shown overleaf—yet doubts about the reliable transmission of his texts would increase into the early twentieth century, spurring new forms of historical and bibliographical inquiry. Within the broad spectrum of nineteenth-century publishing, it made sense to print Shakespeare whether one was a large American firm, such as Lippincott, or a small press deliberately rejecting the industrialization of book-making, such as the Kelmscott Press. Shakespeare's works served conflicting imperatives, and took shape in all kinds of books.

Shakespeare's adaptability allowed his works to serve the interests of nationalism, colonialism, and empire, but also to serve as imaginative spaces for contemplating the ruins of the old Europe after the catastrophe of World War One. This exhibition's several examples of a stark, jagged modernism in book design and illustration reveal a postwar generation reckoning with a changed world. What Herman Melville (1819–1891) once called 'those short, quick probings at the very axis of reality' that 'make Shakespeare, Shakespeare' also made Shakespeare relevant, and even essential, in the new century's cultural imagination.[6] Plays such as *Macbeth*, *Julius Caesar*, *Othello*, *King Lear*, and especially *Hamlet* provoked new kinds of political and metaphysical questioning, just as the Shakespeare of a century before was made to shore up moral certainties.

The bibliographic reinvention of Shakespeare continues to this day among many practitioners of the book arts, including two Toronto-based bookbinders, Don Taylor (1951–) and Robert Wu (1979–), whose striking interpretations of *Macbeth* and *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, respectively, are featured in this exhibition. As they demonstrate in their refashioning of old Shakespeare editions into new works of art, the work of remediating and reimagining Shakespeare through the form of the book is very much a living tradition.

Shakespeare as image: chromolithography and photographic facsimiles

The nineteenth century was a great era of Shakespearean painting and illustration, due in part to the many new technologies and techniques that emerged for reproducing images in books and other print media. Many Victorian artists and publishers exploited new methods for reproducing colour images, made possible by techniques such as chromolithography, in which an image is transferred to multiple lithographic stones, each inked with a specific colour, and then applied to paper, one stone at a time, to make a complete image. Great care is required to ensure accurate registration of colours and lines with each impression, and the technique was refined throughout the nineteenth century to produce images of visual richness.[7]

Scenes from the Winter's Tale (1865), illuminated by Owen Jones (1809–1874) and Henry Warren (1830–1911), is one of two chromolithograph gift books included in this exhibition published by the firm of Day & Son. This popular genre of books tended to use colour lavishly, and *Scenes from the Winter's Tale* reverses the normal hierarchy of the illustrated

Shakespeare book, giving the illustrations priority and offering selections from the playtext in support. Shakespeare's imaginative and spectacle-oriented late romances, such as *The Winter's Tale*, supplied rich subjects for illustration. In the climactic scene pictured here, the remorseful King Leontes encounters what he believes to be a statue of his wife Hermione, whom he had condemned many years before in a fit of misguided jealously, leading to her apparent death. In this scene of belated remorse and reconciliation, orchestrated by the supporting character Paulina (pictured on the far left), the incredibly lifelike statue of Hermione descends from the pedestal to forgive Leontes, and apparently to join him again as his wife.

This is one of the most arresting scenes in all of Shakespeare's works, and one of the most mysterious. Are we witnessing magic, or something else? With echoes of the better-known magus Prospero from *The Tempest*, Paulina tells Leontes that 'It is required / You do awake your faith' (5.3.94–5); but faith in what, exactly? Paulina's words dilate the possibilities of the moment, as she conjures and coaxes the supposed statue into life—or some magical semblance of life:

> PAULINA Music; awake her; strike!
> *Music*
> (*To Hermione*) 'Tis time. Descend. Be stone no more.
> Approach.
> Strike all that look upon with marvel (5.3.98–100)

Is the statue really Hermione, hidden away for years until this scene could be staged for Leontes's redemption? Or is Shakespeare depicting a magical resurrection of Leontes's dead wife, which would not be out of place in Shakespeare's supernaturally tinged romance plays? The play offers conflicting evidence to support both interpretations. Readers, critics, and performers alike have struggled to make sense of this ambiguous yet moving scene in *The Winter's Tale*, but the former interpretation is suggested in this image by the natural skin tone given to the supposed statue.

'It is required / You do awake your faith': the supposed statue of King Leontes's long-lost wife Hermione comes to life in the resolution of *The Winter's Tale*, illuminated by Owen Jones and Henry Warren.

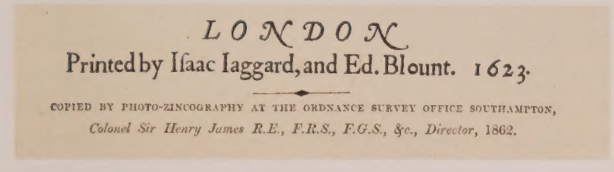
In contrast with chromolithography and its usefulness for ornamentation, photography was a new technology that pushed illustration in the direction of realism. When photography was first developed in the nineteenth century, its early innovators Joseph Niépce (1765–1833), Louis Daguerre (1787–1851), and William Henry Fox Talbot (1800–1877) began to see the world anew, as a collection of photographable objects and scenes. Talbot published the first book to be illustrated by photographs, *The Pencil of Nature* (published in installments between 1844 and 1846), in which he presented readers with a catalogue of the different uses of photography. On a given page, one might be shown a street in Paris; on another, a broom leaning next to an open door, framed like a still-life painting; on yet another, shelves of different pieces of china. One page in particular hints at the industry that would develop later with the photographic and eventually digital reproduction of documents: Talbot's plate titled 'A Fac-simile of an Old Printed Page' reproduces an ancient deed written in Norman French, and renders it as a readable copy of the original. The printed catalogue you are reading now was created with a combination of these technologies and their descendents.

Even at this early stage in photography's development, Talbot presented it as a technology of the real. As the title *The Pencil of Nature* implies, a photograph allegedly shows the world as it really is, without the intervention of the illustrator's hand. Yet there is also an inevitable tension between duplicates and originals. That very tension is dramatized by Shakespeare when Hamlet confronts his mother in the famous 'closet scene,' and compels her to look upon images (possibly miniature portraits) of her former and current husbands, with his father's image contrasted with that of his usurping uncle: 'Look here upon this picture, and on this, / The counterfeit presentment of two brothers' (3.4.10–11). Photographic reproduction placed Victorian readers in a similar dilemma, as the new technology placed the veracity of copies into question. The two photographic facsimiles from this period shown in this exhibition exemplify the promise and danger of the duplicate.

The Royal Ordnance Survey was, and still is, responsible for producing accurate maps of Great Britain, which makes them an unlikely source for Shakespeare books. In 1859, the Survey's director, Colonel Henry James (1803–1877), began to experiment with a technique called *photo-zincography* to reproduce maps and other kinds of documents. This new method was a variant of lithography, which had been joined with photography only a few years prior. Photo-zincography used a zinc plate instead of stone to enable the transfer of photographic images to paper—thus text and image could be reproduced from photographed originals with equal ease. To demonstrate the viability of his new method, James and his team at the Ordnance Survey's Southampton office created photographic facsimiles of various monuments of English history and culture, beginning with both volumes of *Domesday Book*, then a set of national manuscripts (including *Magna Carta*), and then, naturally, the 1623 Shakespeare First Folio. An Ordnance Survey Office pamphlet advertising the new method offers a set of sample images, with a page from Shakespeare's *King John* in the First Folio leading

an eclectic sequence that also includes a page from *Domesday Book*, maps of England, reproduced art works, and photographs of Egypt and of trees on the Southampton common.[8] If we recall Talbot's catalogue of photographable objects in *The Pencil of Nature*, we can see that Shakespeare's Folio page in this context represented a collectable artifact of cultural heritage, reproduced by the latest technological advances.

Despite the seriousness of all this cultural heritage, there is a moment of subtle humour in the partial First Folio facsimile that the Ordnance Survey finally produced by way of a prototype in 1862. As we can see in the detail of their title page, shown here, these pioneers of document reproduction have playfully written themselves into the history of the Folio's printing by adding their own credit lines to the 1623 Folio's imprint, joining their names to the more famous Jaggard and Blount.


LONDON
Printed by Isaac Iaggard, and Ed. Blount. 1623.
COPIED BY PHOTO-ZINCOGRAPHY AT THE ORDNANCE SURVEY OFFICE SOUTHAMPTON,
Colonel Sir Henry James R.E., F.R.S., F.G.S., &c., Director, 1862.

'Copied by photo-zincography at the Ordnance Survey Office Southampton': by adding to the famous Jaggard imprint on the 1623 First Folio's title page, Col. Henry James writes himself and the Royal Ordnance Survey's new document reproduction method into the history of the book.

It did not take long for a complete facsimile of Shakespeare's First Folio to be made available to readers via photography. The noted Shakespeare editor and chess-player Howard Staunton (1810–1874) had worked with the Royal Ordnance Survey on their initial experiments with the First Folio, but later took his own Folio facsimile project to the firm Day & Son. Interest in the Folio in the first half of the nineteenth century had inspired several type-facsimiles—i.e. attempts to use modern type to imitate the layout and spelling of the original sixteenth-century type—but Staunton's photolithographic facsimile showed readers something new: an affordable, high-quality photographic reproduction of Shakespeare's most important book, which made the Folio's pages visible to those with no access to an original copy. First issued in sixteen monthly parts beginning in 1864, the complete facsimile shown in this exhibition was published in 1866.

Reviewers and readers marveled at the fidelity of the photographic reproduction to the original. This publisher's advertisement for the Staunton facsimile is fairly typical of claims made for photographic reproduction at the time:

> This extraordinary and infallible reproduction of the First Folio Shakespeare may be considered more perfect than any one of the most complete and almost priceless original copies in existence. This excellence and accuracy have been achieved through the facilities that have been enjoyed of [sic] making the Photo-Lithographs from three of the finest known copies of the work; and thus, if a weak or imperfect page appeared in one, and the same page was found in a more perfect state in another of the copies, it was worked from in preference. *Thus, by the regenerative process of Photo-Lithography, the First Folio itself, as near as may be, is put within the reach of all classes*, and commands a wide support in acknowledgement of the enterprise that has turned into such a current this new and invaluable art.[9]

Reminiscent of claims made for digital media in our own time, the adjectives here make strong claims for the nature of photographic reproduction of the Folio: 'infallible,' 'perfect,' and even 'regenerative.' Ironically, Staunton's own proof-copy of his facsimile, created by Day & Son to help him catch errors in reproduction, reveals a constant struggle to maintain accuracy as the various media introduced their own distortions.[10] Staunton's numerous annotations in this copy, added to guide the printers in their corrections, range from exasperation with obvious mistakes to perplexity over specks on the paper that may or may not be punctuation. Although photography was often alleged to capture the world as it really is, the photographic reproduction of books required considerable human manipulation of the process, and permitted a great deal of human intervention in the reality being depicted.

Even so, Staunton's facsimile went on to become the first commercially successful photographic reproduction of the First Folio, and helped to initiate a small industry in photographic Shakespeare facsimiles. Through the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the Shakespeare Folio and quartos, along with other rare books, became increasingly available as photographic reproductions through the projects of James Orchard Halliwell (1820–1889), Frederick Furnivall (1825–1910), and others.[11] That tradition continues to this day, in print and in digitization projects alike. Images of Shakespeare's quartos and folios are now more accessible than ever thanks to open-access digital resources such as the *Shakespeare Quartos Archive*, the Folger Shakespeare Library's *Luna* database, and the *Internet Shakespeare Editions*. However, the question of what is gained and lost in the use of photographic and digital reproductions is still a matter of debate. Viewers of this exhibition are invited, like *Hamlet*'s Gertrude, to compare the Fisher's original First Folio to its facsimiles with their own eyes.

Shakespeare as information: recontextualizing, fragmenting, and disseminating the texts

Ours is not the first information age, and many people in the nineteenth century were conscious of living in what we now call an information society. New media such as photography, as we have seen, helped to reshape such fundamental concepts as social memory and the transmission of culture. But while a photographic facsimile of a Shakespeare First Folio might seem to fix a text in time, creating a stable link between past and present via a material artifact, other approaches to editing and book design recognized Shakespeare's malleability, and his texts became recontextualized, fragmented, and disseminated in new ways.

That malleability can be seen in the range of book formats represented in this exhibition as a whole, and particu-

larly in the tiny nine-volume set of Shakespeare's works issued by the publisher William Pickering (1796–1854) in 1822–1823. These books were published as part of Pickering's 'Diamond Classics' series of great literary works, printed in small formats that bibliographers call *48mo* or *32mo* in reference to the number of pages printed on each side of the paper sheets; those sheets were then folded (many, many times for a small format) and cut to make gatherings of leaves in a book.[12] Even modern readers accustomed to smartphone screens might have difficulty with the degree of spatial compression that Pickering's 'Diamond' type achieved. As the smallest edition of Shakespeare that had yet appeared in print, this early experiment in miniaturization strained the eyes (and patience) of at least one contemporary reviewer. Noting that 'there is scarcely a conceivable shape or form in which Shakespeare has not been presented to the public,' a critic writing in 1853 quipped that the tiny 48mo format 'seems exclusively intended for sale in the kingdom of Lilliput, or for the benefit of opticians in general.'[13]

'Infinite riches in a little room': the 'Diamond' editions of Shakespeare, which were the smallest yet printed, appeared from the publisher William Pickering in 1822-1823.

If one of information's supposed virtues is its reflowability into new formats, including miniature ones, another is its capacity for interpretive recontextualization—in other words, its capacity to take on new meanings in new contexts, for better and for worse. One of the most infamous examples of editors taking control of the interpretive possibilities of Shakespeare's texts is the *Family Shakespeare*, edited by brother and sister Henrietta (1750–1830) and Thomas Bowdler (1754–1825). First issued in 1807, with Henrietta performing most of the editorial work under Thomas's name, *The Family Shakespeare* offered twenty-four of Shakespeare's plays in which, as the title page advertised, 'nothing is added to the original text; but those words and expressions are omitted which cannot with propriety be read aloud in a family.' As the preface states in the 1818 second edition:

> neither the vicious taste of the age, nor the most brilliant effusions of wit, can afford an excuse for profaneness or obscenity; and if these could be obliterated, the transcendent genius of the poet would undoubtedly shine with more unclouded lustre. To banish every thing of this nature from his writings is the object of the present undertaking. ... It is certainly my wish, and it has ever been my study, to exclude from this publication whatever is unfit to be read aloud by a gentleman to a company of ladies. (viii–x)

Sexual, violent, and some religious references were expurgated—and silently, with the pages of the edition offering no hint of cut passages and words. For example, the *Family Shakespeare*'s text of *Othello* simply excises the vivid sexual and racial language of Roderigo's warning to Brabantio about the Moorish captain's wooing of his daughter: the Bowdlers' readers are spared (or denied) the graphic lines 'Even now, now, very now, an old black ram / Is tupping your white ewe' (1.1.88–9). Yet the act of censorship can often reveal contradictions in the thinking of the censors themselves: on the page just prior to this example, the Bowdlers are content to retain Roderigo's racial epithet 'the thick-lips' to describe Othello (p. 247; 1.1.66).

This kind of selective sanitizing of literature came to be known as *Bowdlerizing*, and is part of the contentious tradition of literary censorship that continues to this day. However, before we dismiss *The Family Shakespeare* as mere prudery, it is also worth considering the way Henrietta Bowdler rearranged Shakespeare's texts to suit the needs of those who were, to her, modern readers.[14] (She is generally acknowledged to be the earliest known female editor of Shakespeare.[15]) Indeed, Henrietta was hardly the first or last person to remake Shakespeare's works according to her own tastes. As we have seen, eighteenth-century editors often changed words and line divisions according their own judgment to make Shakespeare aesthetically palatable, with Alexander Pope as only one of many editors who emended liberally. George Bernard Shaw (1856–1950) went so far as to rewrite the long, tangled final act of Shakespeare's late play *Cymbeline* to make it acceptable to modern audiences. Henrietta Bowdler made no such creative additions of her own; instead, she edited with scissors, so to speak, and created a new Shakespeare text almost entirely by cutting, splicing, and recontextualizing. Her brother Thomas's 1818 preface and title page go to some lengths to emphasize that no text was ever added to their Shakespeare edition, only cut from it. Although the pages of *The Family Shakespeare* betray no visible traces of all this labour, it stands as an important experiment in making a new kind of Shakespeare text—one made to serve its historical moment, however different it may seem from our own.

Another example of recontextualizing may be found in *Shakespeare's Household Words* (1859), which continues a long tradition of anthologizing, digesting, and repackaging Shakespeare's works into small, quotable pieces. (For another example, see the 1851 volume *Sentiments and Similes of William Shakespeare*, pictured in the introduction of this chapter in a faux-gothic papier mâché binding.) That tradition extends back to Shakespeare's lifetime, when the miscellany was an important poetic form, and was later monumentalized for Shakespeareans by William Dodd (1729–1777) in *The Beauties of Shakespear, Regularly Selected from each Play: with a General Index, Digesting them under Proper Heads: Illustrated with Explanatory Notes, and Similar Passages from Ancient and Modern Authors* (first published in

1752, and reprinted in whole or in part into the nineteenth century). This tradition found new life in Victorian England, where the idea of literature as moral exemplar intersected with the idea of texts as recyclable information. As another vivid example of chromolithographic printing, *Shakespeare's Household Words* is typical of the tradition of Victorian gift-books, which packaged morality as an attractive commodity, and framed quotation-collecting as a viable form of reading. Like the Bowdlers' *Family Shakespeare*, collections such as these also had the dubious virtue of omitting the parts of Shakespeare's works that Victorians considered unworthy, distasteful, or obscene. (A related sub-genre of books matched Shakespeare quotations with their parallels in the Bible, sometimes on facing pages.[16]) As one critic has remarked, *Shakespeare's Household Words* 'reduces Shakespeare's plays to their smallest units of wisdom.'[17]

'Full of wise saws and modern instances': the title-page of a Victorian quotation-book alludes to the Seven Ages of Man speech from *As You Like It*.

The quotation-book tradition often invoked metaphors of gems and ornaments to describe Shakespeare's extracted lines and phrases—a metaphor richly literalized in the ornamentation of the opening pages of *Shakespeare's Household Words*. The beauty of the chromolithographic ornaments, however, belies a certain bluntness in the ordering of quotation: where older miscellanies and commonplace books would group quotations by theme (love, mortality, devotion, etc.), this volume settles for the arbitrariness of alphabetical order.

To think of Shakespeare as information is to imagine his works' dissemination on a global scale, and The Globe Shakespeare was an edition for an empire. As a mass-market version of the scholarly Cambridge edition of 1863–1866, the single-volume Globe Shakespeare published by Macmillan in 1864 exemplifies the remarkable worldwide dissemination of Shakespeare in print. In the late nineteenth century, at the height of the British Empire, it was the book that English civil servants traditionally took with them, along with the King James Bible, when they shipped out for India, South Africa, Canada, and the other colonies. The title page reflects these imperial ambitions, showing not Shakespeare's Globe Theatre but the terrestrial globe itself.[18]

'One touch of nature makes the whole world kin': this detail from the Globe Shakespeare's title page shows meridian lines with a caption from *Troilus and Cressida*. The sentiment was not exactly reflective of England's actual colonial policies.

Strangely enough, this particular edition would go on to become the source for the most ubiquitous public-domain texts of Shakespeare's works found on the Web, known as the Moby Shakespeare.[19] Though the Moby and Globe before it are not reliable editions by modern scholarly standards, anyone Googling Shakespeare is almost certain to find some digital echo of this book among their search results. Like the meridian lines shown on its title page —which, implicitly, place Greenwich and therefore England at the centre of the mappable world—the Globe text has become a kind of inherited infrastructure, providing a digital global positioning system for Shakespeare quotations.[20]

If the Globe Shakespeare represents the Shakespeare texts' capacity to travel great distances to different parts of the world—then and now, physically and digitally—then the New Variorum Shakespeare (NVS) editions represent the texts' capacity to travel through history. Begun as a project by the Philadelphia lawyer and amateur Shakespearean Horace Howard Furness (1833–1912), the NVS editions were an attempt to account for all of the significant commentary, interpretations, and emendations to Shakespeare's works up to the present. Although the variorum format was originally used for editing classical authors, it was first applied to Shakespeare in the eighteenth century, with milestones to be found in the Johnson and Malone editions shown earlier. Furness and his fellow readers in the Philadelphia Shakespeare Society realized that the format could be updated to account for the massive amounts of scholarship that had begun to accumulate even prior to their own era, as we have seen. Readers in the late nineteenth century were increasingly aware of living in a world saturated with information, and the NVS editions were a response to a particularly Shakespearean form of information overload.

The pages of the NVS editions attempt to manage all that information by synthesizing and abstracting it on the page along with the texts themselves. Furness was an editor with remarkable energy and focus, editing sixteen plays between 1871 and 1912, all to give readers access to the full

sscope of the printed history of Shakespeare's works. Consider the brief exchange of lines (shown in the exhibition) in which Hamlet answers his suspicious uncle, who has recently married Hamlet's mother and usurped the throne of Denmark: 'KING CLAUDIUS: How is it that the clouds still hang on you? / HAMLET: Not so, my lord, I am too much i'th' sun' (1.2.66–7). As Furness's copious variorum notes show, for every Shakespearean line there may be many interpretations—not to mention emendations, or attempts by editors to correct the text based on bibliographical evidence or conjecture. That very condition inspired a joke in the story attached to the *Punch* cartoon pictured at this essay's beginning: as the fictional Shakespeare laments, 'the Commentators have so bewildered me, that I forgot what I wrote.'

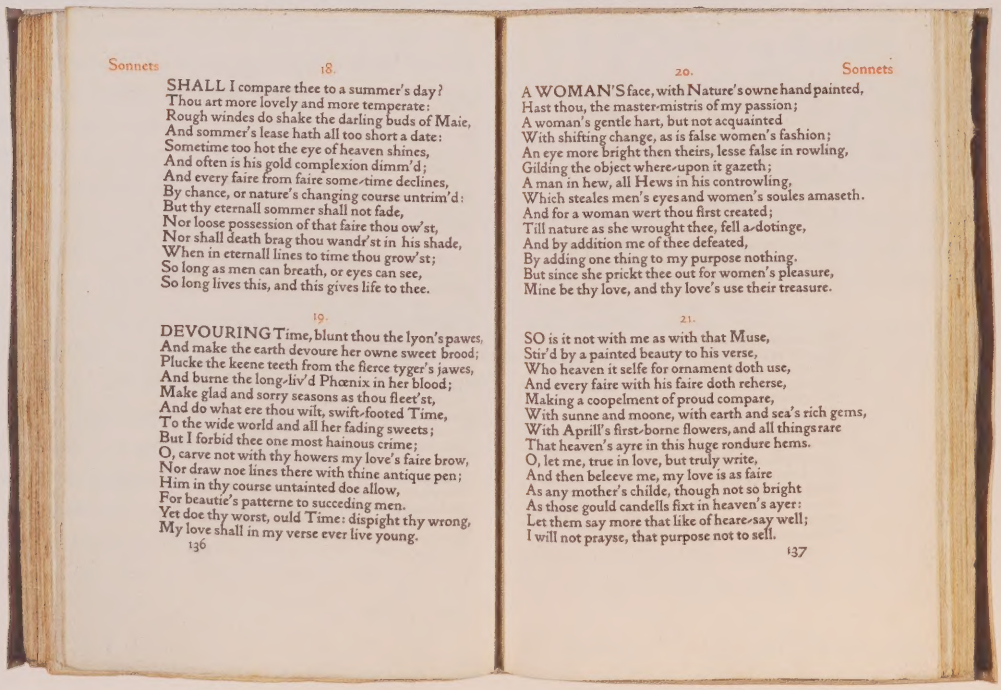
Those comments and emendations pile up over time, like layers of artifacts in an archeological dig. When presented in a clear and organized reading interface, they can contribute to the ongoing cultural record of our engagements with Shakespeare's texts. As with all encyclopedic projects, much is left out of the NVS editions, yet Furness's crowded pages provide a sense of Shakespeare's history not as a silent tomb, but as a buzz of overlapping conversations that spans nations and centuries.

SHAKESPEARE AND 'THE BOOK BEAUTIFUL': MORRIS, MODERNISM, AND THE FINE PRESS TRADITION

For some, the noisy world of information and industry provoked a contrary desire for simplicity in book design and production, with quiet pages and clear typography as the best vehicles for Shakespeare and other authors. William Morris (1834–1896) and his Kelmscott Press are the best-known symbols of resistance to the industrialization of the book trade in the nineteenth century. Morris and his collaborators contributed to the Victorian Gothic revival by returning the design of everyday objects to an aesthetic rooted in medievalism—or at least in a version of the medieval period as imagined by Victorians. Although Morris is sometimes portrayed as categorically rejecting machines and new technology, his attitudes to the new media of his time were more complex. For example, from the beginning of his typographic career he depended upon photographic enlargements of early typefaces to design his own, and thus his understanding of the typographical past was very much mediated by modern technology. Morris was a paradoxical figure in many ways, such that one critic even compares him to Hamlet for his sense of living in a time that was out of joint, and describes the Kelmscott Press as Morris's 'last great attempt to restore beauty and sanity to an ugly, mad world.'[21]

Founded in a cottage in Hammersmith in 1891, Morris's Kelmscott Press produced many books of simple elegance, including several written by Morris himself, as well as William Caxton's *The Golden Legend* (1892), John Ruskin's *The Nature of Gothic* (1892), Dante Gabriel Rossetti's *Ballads and Narrative Poems* (1893) and *Sonnets and Lyrical Poems* (1894), and Kelmscott's magnum opus, *The Works of Geoffrey Chaucer* (1896). (Copies of all these titles are held by the Fisher Library.) Many of the Kelmscott volumes were a collaboration between Morris as designer and Edward Burne-Jones (1833–1898) as illustrator. Their ethos of complementary forms of craftsmanship, practised authentically and with carefully chosen materials, reflected the principles of the Arts and Crafts movement as a whole.

The Poems of William Shakespeare (1893) was printed in this spirit by Morris at the Kelmscott Press in a limited run



Sonnets 18.

SHALL I compare thee to a summer's day?
Thou art more lovely and more temperate:
Rough windes do shake the darling buds of Maie,
And sommer's lease hath all too short a date:
Sometime too hot the eye of heaven shines,
And often is his gold complexion dimm'd;
And every faire from faire some-time declines,
By chance, or nature's changing course untrim'd:
But thy eternall sommer shall not fade,
Nor loose possession of that faire thou ow'st,
Nor shall death brag thou wandr'st in his shade,
When in eternall lines to time thou grow'st;
So long as men can breath, or eyes can see,
So long lives this, and this gives life to thee.

19.

DEVOURING Time, blunt thou the lyon's pawes,
And make the earth devoure her owne sweet brood;
Plucke the keene teeth from the fierce tyger's jawes,
And burne the long-liv'd Phœnix in her blood;
Make glad and sorry seasons as thou fleet'st,
And do what ere thou wilt, swift-footed Time,
To the wide world and all her fading sweets;
But I forbid thee one most hainous crime;
O, carve not with thy howers my love's faire brow,
Nor draw noe lines there with thine antique pen;
Him in thy course untainted doe allow,
For beautie's patterne to succeeding men.
Yet doe thy worst, ould Time: dispight thy wrong,
My love shall in my verse ever live young.

136

20. Sonnets

A WOMAN'S face, with Nature's owne hand painted,
Hast thou, the master-mistris of my passion;
A woman's gentle hart, but not acquainted
With shifting change, as is false women's fashion;
An eye more bright then theirs, lesse false in rowling,
Gilding the object where-upon it gazeth;
A man in hew, all Hews in his controwling,
Which steales men's eyes and women's soules amaseth.
And for a woman wert thou first created;
Till nature as she wrought thee, fell a-dotinge,
And by addition me of thee defeated,
By adding one thing to my purpose nothing.
But since she prickt thee out for women's pleasure,
Mine be thy love, and thy love's use their treasure.

21.

SO is it not with me as with that Muse,
Stir'd by a painted beauty to his verse,
Who heaven it selfe for ornament doth use,
And every faire with his faire doth rehersse,
Making a coopelment of proud compare,
With sunne and moone, with earth and sea's rich gems,
With Aprill's first-borne flowers, and all things rare
That heaven's ayre in this huge rondure hems.
O, let me, true in love, but truly write,
And then beleeve me, my love is as faire
As any mother's childe, though not so bright
As those gould candells fixt in heaven's ayer:
Let them say more that like of heare-say well;
I will not prayse, that purpose not to sell.

137

'So long as men can breath, or eyes can see, / So long lives this, and this gives life to thee': a typical opening from the Kelmscott Press *Poems of William Shakespeare*, showing Sonnets 18 through 21. The mix of red and black ink is a deliberate echo of medieval manuscripts and early humanist books.

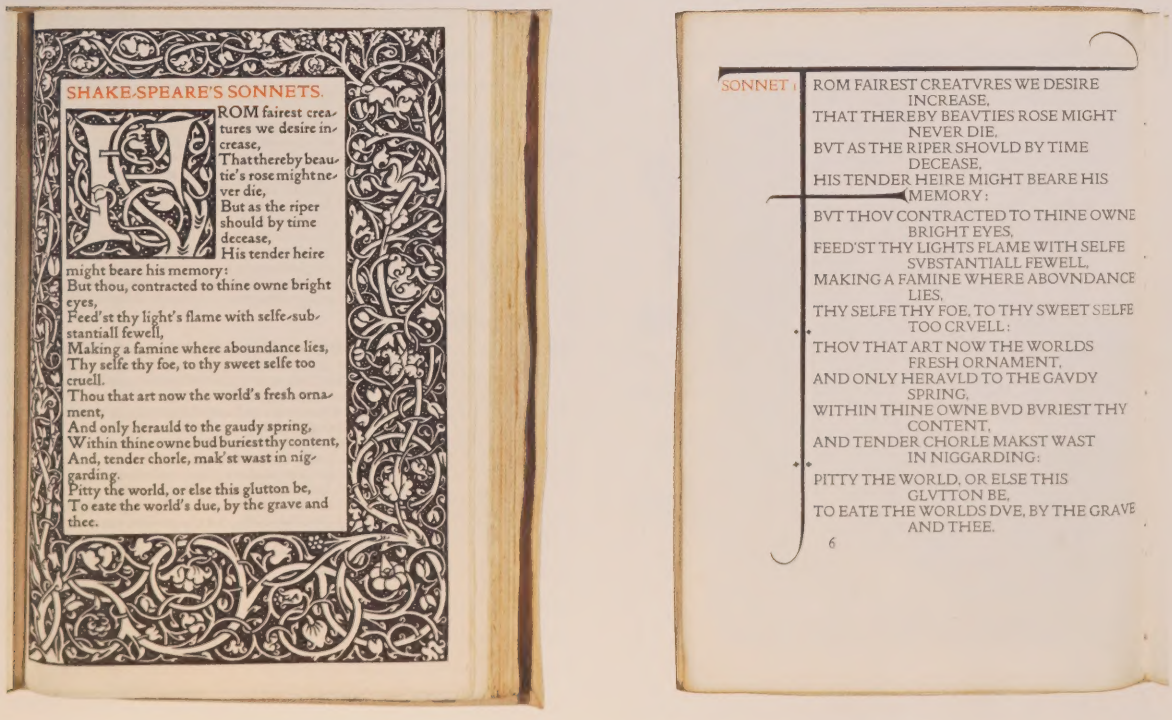
of five hundred copies (with an additional ten printed on vellum), and included Shakespeare's narrative poems *Venus and Adonis* and *The Rape of Lucrece*, plus the *Sonnets* and *The Lover's Complaint*. William S. Peterson estimates that it was the Kelmscott Press's most popular volume, and speculates that if Morris had not died in 1896, his future projects would have included an edition of Shakespeare's plays.[22] The 1893 volume of Shakespeare's poetry shown in this exhibition embodies an overall design philosophy that Morris described that same year in a lecture simply titled 'Printing':

> granted well-designed type, due spacing of the lines and words, and proper position of the page on the paper, all books might be at least comely and well-looking: and if to these good qualities were added really beautiful ornament and pictures, printed books might once again illustrate to the full position of our Society that a work of utility might be also a work of art, if we cared to make it so.[23]

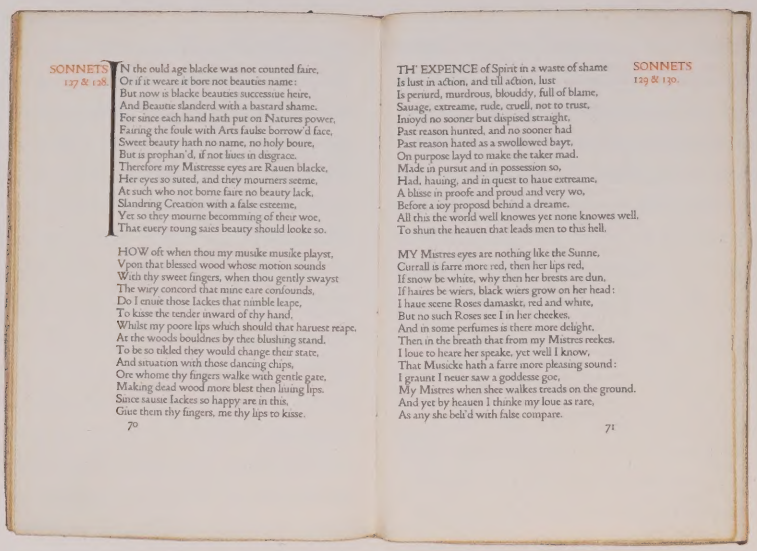
The first page of the *Sonnets* (below) shows several design features that are typical of Kelmscott books, including a text block whose proportions echo those of medieval manuscripts, an ornamented border and initial capital, minimal but effective use of red ink, and the Golden typeface (one of three designed by Morris for use in Kelmscott books). Yet Morris's unspoken design prejudices are evident in this image, too: in the sonnet shown here, Shakespeare's lines are broken and wrapped with little apparent regard for the poem's shape on the page, or for the metrical coherency of the line as a poetic unit. The sonnet is not the star of this page so much as the ornamentation that surrounds it. By contrast, the opening with four sonnets (facing page) is more representative of the volume's *mise-en-page*, and reflects Morris's conviction that the full two-page opening, and not the single page, should be well balanced to form a single unit of viewing.

Morris's circle included some of the most influential figures in *fin-de-siècle* and early twentieth-century typography and book design, including Emery Walker (1851–1833) and T.J. Cobden-Sanderson (1840–1922). After Morris's death, the two founded The Doves Press, a private press in the spirit of the Arts and Crafts movement, but with an aesthetic of its own that anticipated the modernist movement of the early twentieth century. In the 1909 Doves Press edition of Shakespeare's *Sonnets*, the modernist tendency toward the bold and radical may be seen in the large dropped-capital *I* that begins Sonnet 127 (overleaf), and in the even larger dropped-capital *F* that opens the volume (below)—both a visual echo of the Doves Press Bible (published in five volumes between 1903–1905), whose initial *I* from 'In the beginning' runs the full height of the text block. These radical dropped capitals work in harmony with the traditional humanist page proportions and other elements reflective of Morris's design philosophy, and with the famous Doves type, which Cobden-Sanderson and Walker had designed together in 1899 for their new press. Inspired by the fifteenth-century printer Nicholas Jenson, the Doves type embodied a humanistic sense of balance and harmony that was lacking in the relationship of the men who commissioned it.

The two were a study in contrasts, as one critic describes them: 'Cobden-Sanderson was a visionary, a mystic and a creative artist. Walker was a craftsman, an antiquary and an entrepreneur.'[24] As their partnership deteriorated beyond repair, Cobden-Sanderson committed one of history's most wanton acts of typographical destruction: beginning in 1913, he began secretly to dump the punches, matrices, and eventually all of the Doves type over the edge of Hammersmith


SHAKE-SPEARE'S SONNETS.
FROM fairest creatures we desire increase,
That thereby beautie's rose might never die,
But as the riper should by time decease,
His tender heire might beare his memory:
But thou, contracted to thine owne bright eyes,
Feed'st thy light's flame with selfe-substantiall fewell,
Making a famine where aboundance lies,
Thy selfe thy foe, to thy sweet selfe too cruell.
Thou that art now the world's fresh ornament,
And only herauld to the gaudy spring,
Within thine owne bud buriest thy content,
And, tender chorle, mak'st wast in niggarding.
Pitty the world, or else this glutton be,
To eate the world's due, by the grave and thee.
SONNET I
FROM FAIREST CREATVRES WE DESIRE INCREASE,
THAT THEREBY BEAVTIES ROSE MIGHT NEVER DIE,
BVT AS THE RIPER SHOVLD BY TIME DECEASE,
HIS TENDER HEIRE MIGHT BEARE HIS MEMORY:
BVT THOV CONTRACTED TO THINE OWNE BRIGHT EYES,
FEED'ST THY LIGHTS FLAME WITH SELFE SVBSTANTIALL FEWELL,
MAKING A FAMINE WHERE ABOVNDANCE LIES,
THY SELFE THY FOE, TO THY SWEET SELFE TOO CRVELL:
THOV THAT ART NOW THE WORLDS FRESH ORNAMENT,
AND ONLY HERAVLD TO THE GAVDY SPRING,
WITHIN THINE OWNE BVD BVRIEST THY CONTENT,
AND TENDER CHORLE MAKST WAST IN NIGGARDING:
PITTY THE WORLD, OR ELSE THIS GLVTTON BE,
TO EATE THE WORLDS DVE, BY THE GRAVE AND THEE.
6

'To the onlie begetter of these insuing sonnets': two fine-press editions of Shakespeare's *Sonnets* reflect different approaches to design and typography, though both are informed by related sets of ideals. On the left the Kelmscott *Press Poems of William Shakespeare* shows the opening of the *Sonnets*, with one of Morris's characteristic borders. Next to this, the Doves Press edition of the Sonnets looks forward to a more modernist design, with a dramatic dropped capital.


SONNETS 127 & 128.

IN the ould age blacke was not counted faire,
Or if it weare it bore not beauties name:
But now is blacke beauties successiue heire,
And Beautie slandered with a bastard shame.
For since each hand hath put on Natures power,
Fairing the foule with Arts faulse borrow'd face,
Sweet beauty hath no name, no holy boure,
But is prophan'd, if not liues in disgrace.
Therefore my Mistresse eyes are Rauen blacke,
Her eyes so suted, and they mourners seeme,
At such who not borne faire no beauty lack,
Slandring Creation with a false esteeme,
Yet so they mourne becomming of their woe,
That euery toung saies beauty should looke so.

HOW oft when thou my musike musike playst,
Vpon that blessed wood whose motion sounds
With thy sweet fingers, when thou gently swayst
The wiry concord that mine eare confounds,
Do I enuie those lackes that nimble leape,
To kisse the tender inward of thy hand,
Whilst my poore lips which should that haruest reape,
At the woods boldnes by thee blushing stand.
To be so tikled they would change their state,
And situation with those dancing chips,
Ore whome thy fingers walke with gentle gate,
Making dead wood more blest then liuing lips.
Since sausie lackes so happy are in this,
Giue them thy fingers, me thy lips to kisse.

70

TH' EXPENCE of Spirit in a waste of shame
Is lust in action, and till action, lust
Is periurd, murdrous, bloudy, full of blame,
Sauage, extreame, rude, cruell, not to trust,
Inioyd no sooner but dispised straight,
Past reason hunted, and no sooner had
Past reason hated as a swollowed bayt,
On purpose layd to make the taker mad.
Made in pursut and in possession so,
Had, hauing, and in quest to haue extreame,
A blisse in proofe and proud and very wo,
Before a ioy proposd behind a dreame.
All this the world well knowes yet none knowes well.
To shun the heauen that leads men to this hell.

SONNETS 129 & 130.

MY Mistres eyes are nothing like the Sunne,
Currall is farre more red, then her lips red,
If snow be white, why then her brests are dun,
If haires be wiers, black wiers grow on her head:
I haue seene Roses damaskt, red and white,
But no such Roses see I in her cheekes,
And in some perfumes is there more delight,
Then in the breath that from my Mistres reekes.
I loue to heare her speake, yet well I know,
That Musicke hath a farre more pleasing sound:
I graunt I neuer saw a goddesse goe,
My Mistres when shee walkes treads on the ground.
And yet by heauen I thinke my loue as rare,
As any she beli'd with false compare.

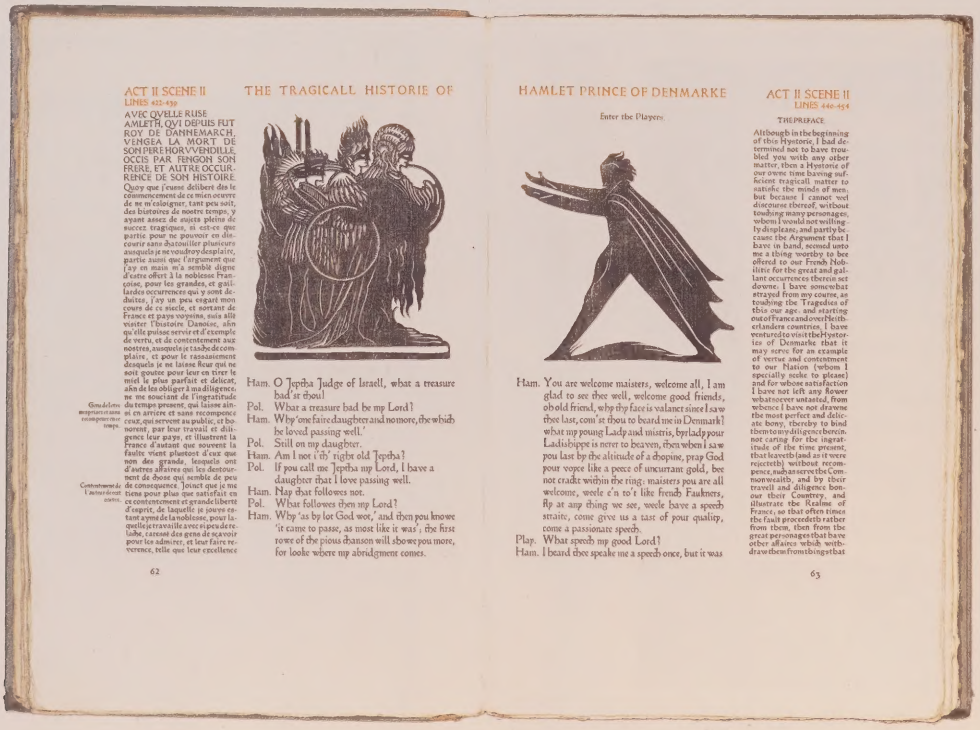
71

'Th' expense of Spirit in a waste of shame': the Doves Press *Sonnets* approached the Arts and Crafts ideal of 'the book beautiful,' despite being born of the stormy partnership of T.J. Cobden-Sanderson and Emery Walker.

Bridge and into the Thames. It took Cobden-Sanderson nearly four years' worth of covert trips to the bridge to consign his greatest typographical creation to the muddy river-bottom. One cannot help but think of Prospero surrendering the tools of the magician's art in *The Tempest*'s conclusion:

> But this rough magic
> I here abjure.
> ...
> I'll break my staff,
> Bury it certain fathoms in the earth,
> And deeper than did ever plummet sound
> I'll drown my book. (5.1.50–57)

Prospero's renunciation of his magical powers seems permanent at the end of *The Tempest*, but there has been a recent effort to recover the material legacy of Cobden-Sanderson's art. Since 2014, type designer Robert Green has managed to recover hundreds of the original types from the bottom of the Thames, and has released a digital facsimile of the Doves type.[25] One hopes it will give Cobden-Sanderson's type designs a new future in digital form. In the meantime, we


ACT II SCENE II LINES 425-439

AVEC QV'ELLE RUSE AMLETH QVI DEPUIS FUT ROY DE DANNEMARCH, VENGEA LA MORT DE SON PERE HORVVENDILLE, OCCIS PAR FENGON SON FRERE, ET AUTRE OCCURRENCE DE SON HISTOIRE.

Quoy que l'eusse deliberé dés le commencement de ce mien ouvrre de ne m'esloigner, tant peu soit, des histoires de nostre temps, y ayant assez de subjets pleins de succez tragiques, ni est-ce que partie pour ne pouvoir en discourir sans sbacouiller plusieurs ausquels je ne voudroy desplaire, partie aussi que l'argument que i'ay en main m'a semblé digne d'estre offert à la noblesse Françoise, pour les grandes, et gaillardes occurrences qui y sont déduites, i'ay un peu esgaré mon cours de ce siecle, et sortant de France et pays voysins, suis allé visiter l'histoire Danoise, afin qu'elle puisse servir et d'exemple de vertu, et de contentement aux nostres, ausquels je tasche de complaire, et pour le rassasiement desquels je ne laisse fleur qui ne soit goutez pour leur en tirer le miel le plus parfait et delicat, afin de les obliger à ma diligence, ne me souciant de l'ingratitude du temps present, qui laisse ainsi en arriere et sans recompence ceux, qui servent au public, et honorent, par leur travail et diligence leur pays, et illustrent la France d'autant que souvent la faulte vient plustost d'eux que non des grands, lesquels ont d'autres affaires qui les destournent de chose qui semble de peu de consequence. Joinct que je me tiens pour plus que satisfait en ce contentement et grande liberté d'esprit, de laquelle je jouys estant ayme de la noblesse, pour laquelle je travaille avec esperance d'oyr, caressé des gens de sçavoir pour les admirer, et leur faire reverence, telle que leur excellence

Grandeur des entreprises sans recompence aux temps

Contentement de l'autheur de cest oeuvre

62

THE TRAGICALL HISTORIE OF

Ham. O Iephtha Iudge of Israell, what a treasure had'st thou!
Pol. What a treasure had he my Lord?
Ham. Why one faire daughter and no more, the which he loved passing well.
Pol. Still on my daughter.
Ham. Am I not i'th' right old Iephtha?
Pol. If you call me Iephtha my Lord, I have a daughter that I love passing well.
Ham. Nay that followes not.
Pol. What followes then my Lord?
Ham. Why as by lot God wot, and then you knowe 'it came to passe, as most like it was', the first rowe of the pious chanson will showe you more, for looke where my abridgment comes.

HAMLET PRINCE OF DENMARKE

Enter the Players.

Ham. You are welcome maisters, welcome all, I am glad to see thee well, welcome good friends, oh old friend, why thy face is valiant since I saw thee last, com'st thou to beard me in Denmark? what my young Lady and mistris, by Lady your Ladiship is nere to prayen, then when I saw you last by the altitude of a chopine, pray God your voyce like a peece of uncurrant gold, be not crackt within the ring: maisters you are all welcome, weele e'n to't like french Faukners, fly at any thing we see, weele have a speech straite, come give us a tast of your quality, come a passionate speech.
Play. What speech my good Lord?
Ham. I heard thee speake me a speech once, but it was

ACT II SCENE II LINES 440-454

THE PREFACE

Although in the beginning of this Hystorie, I had determined not to have troubled you with any other matter, then a Hystorie of our owne time having sufficient tragicall matter to satisfie the minds of men; but because I cannot wel discourse thereof, without touching many personages, whom I would not willingly displease, and partly because the Argument that I have in hand, seemed unto me a thing worthy to bee offered to our French Nobilitie for the great and gallant occurrences therein set downe, I have somewhat strayed from my course, as touching the Tragedies of this our age: and starting out of France and over Northerlandere countries, I have ventured to visit the Hystories of Denmarke that it may serve for an example of vertue and contentment to our Nation (whom I specially seeke to please) and for whose satisfaction I have not left any fewer whatsoever untasted, from whence I have not drawne the most perfect and delicate hony, thereby to bind them to my diligence herein, not caring for the ingratitude of the time present, that leaveth (and as it were rejecteth) without recompence, such as serve the Commonwealth, and by their travell and diligence honour their Countrey, and illustrate the Realme of France, so that often times the fault proceedeth rather from them, then from the great personages that have other affaires which withdraw them from things that

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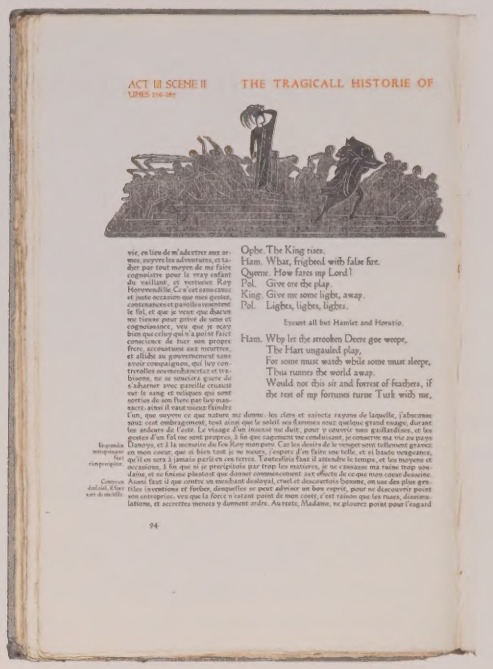
'Weele have a speech straite': Hamlet welcomes the players to Elsinore in the Cranach Press edition. Note the gesture across the gutter, which uses the book's full opening for dramatic effect, combined with careful placement of Hamlet's speech to the players.

can appreciate the elegant letterforms imprinted by the original Doves types in books that survive undrowned.

Another associate of Morris's and Walker's who continued the fine press tradition was Count Harry Kessler (1868–1937), a German aristocrat, writer, and patron of the arts.[26] Throughout his remarkable career, Kessler was active in many aspects of the visual arts in his home country until the Nazis came to power in 1933. His political views forced him to flee to France, where he died in exile in 1937. Having been inspired partly by Walker and other members of the Arts and Crafts movement in England, Kessler founded the Cranach Press in 1913. In the same year, Kessler began a collaboration with Edward Gordon Craig (1872–1966) that would lead to one of the greatest achievements of twentieth-century book design: the Cranach Press *Hamlet*.[27] Craig was no less remarkable a figure, and one could say that Shakespeare was in his genes: his mother, Ellen Terry (1847–1928), was the foremost Shakespearean actress of her time, and was Henry Irving's (1838–1905) leading lady at London's Lyceum Theatre. Craig had already made a name for himself as an innovative director and scenic designer when Kessler approached him in 1913 to create wood engravings for an edition of *Hamlet*. When the volume finally appeared many years later, first in German (1928) and then in English (1930), the Cranach Press *Hamlet* was recognized as a *tour de force* of fine printing, and presented Shakespeare's greatest tragedy in a form that remains unequaled in print.

A combination of elements sets this edition apart. The text of the play chosen is an edition based on the second quarto by J. Dover Wilson (1881–1969), thought at the time to be the version most proximate to Shakespeare's manuscripts. Flanking the Shakespeare text on either side are two of *Hamlet*'s prose sources, a portion of the *Historiae Danicae* titled 'The Life of Amleth' by the thirteenth-century author Saxo Grammaticus (c. 1150–1220), and its sixteenth-century retelling in the *Histoires tragiques* (1570) of French author François de Belleforest (1530–1583). As one can see in the images here, Morris's influence is present in the page proportions and red running titles, as well as the fine paper. Type was designed specifically for this book by Edward Johnston (1872–1944; known for designing the original London Underground typeface), who recreated a fifteenth-century typeface used by Gutenberg's contemporaries Johann Fust (c. 1400–1466) and Peter Schoeffer (c. 1425–1503).[28] Eric Gill (1882–1940), another collaborator of Kessler's, contributed some lettering, including two ornamental initials. But what brings the text to life are Craig's illustrations. With his set-designer's eye he created images that combine form, motion, lighting, and visual motifs to achieve a remarkable synthesis of page and stage.[29]

The tradition of great modernist illustrations of Shakespeare continues closer to home in the work of Toronto artist and film-maker Laurence Hyde (1914–1987). Hyde's eclectic career spanned the media landscape of mid-twentieth-century Canada. As a young art student at Toronto's Central Technical School at Harbord and Bathurst, Hyde was influenced by Lawren Harris's (1885–1970) paintings at the Art Gallery of Ontario, which he carried into his career as a book illustrator, stamp designer for the Canadian Post


ACT III SCENE II
THE TRAGICALL HISTORIE OF
Ophe. The King rises.
Ham. What, frighted with false fire.
Queene. How fares my Lord?
Pol. Give o're the play.
King. Give me some light, away.
Pol. Lights, lights, lights.
Exeunt all but Hamlet and Horatio.
Ham. Why let the strooken Deere goe weepe,
The Hart ungalled play,
For some must watch while some must sleepe,
Thus runnes the world away.
Would not this sir and forrest of feathers, if
the rest of my fortunes turne Turk with me,
94

'What, frighted with false fire': the guilty King Claudius flees Hamlet's performance of *The Mousetrap*. A two-tone effect was used in some plates to make certain figures darker, achieved by the use of overlays and underlays during the presswork.[30]

Office, and filmmaker at the National Film Board under John Grierson (1898–1972), where he worked for most of his career. Like Craig and Gill before him, Hyde was a master of the difficult art of the wood-engraving. This form of illustration is similar to the much older woodcut, except that it requires the engraver to carve out lines and spaces to be filled with ink, usually on an end-grain piece of hardwood such as boxwood or cherry, which is impressed onto paper with a special rolling press. As the art of wood-engraving was

'When shall we three meet again, / In thunder, lightening, or in rain?': the composition of Hyde's illustration, with the weird sisters in one panel and Macbeth and Banquo in the other, intertwines the political with the supernatural.

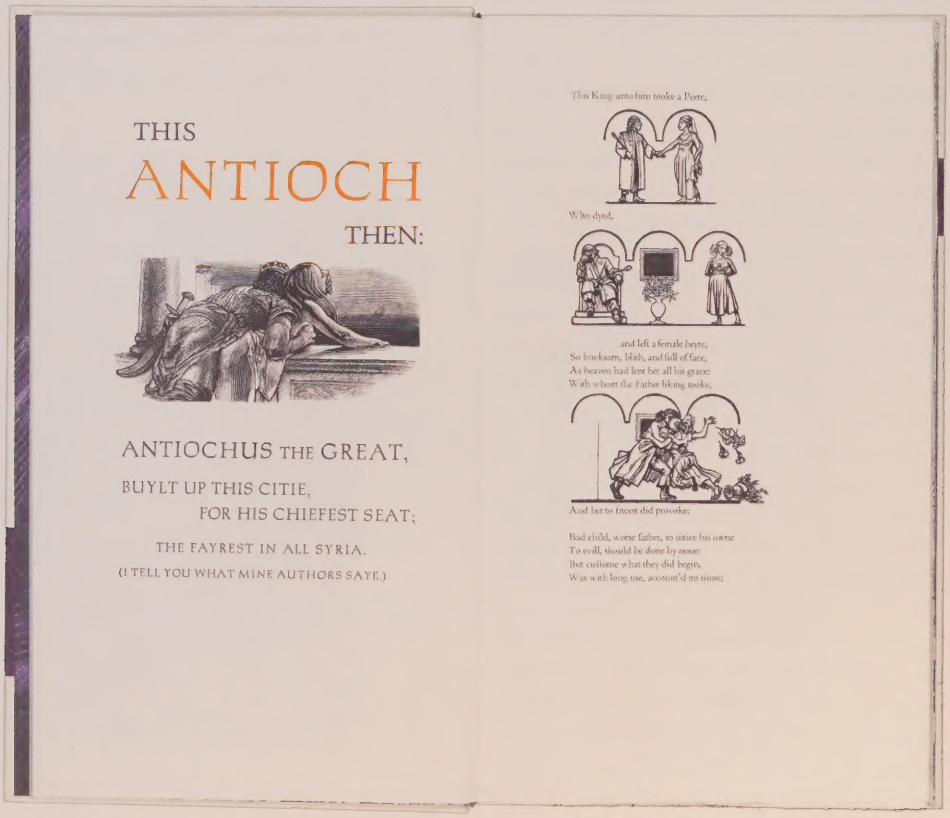
'Thunder and Lightening. Enter three Witches': Hyde's headpiece for the opening act of *Macbeth* (c. 1939).

developed through the nineteenth century by Thomas Bewick (1753–1828) and others, it became a technique well suited to detailed images with dramatic effects of light, dark, and shade.

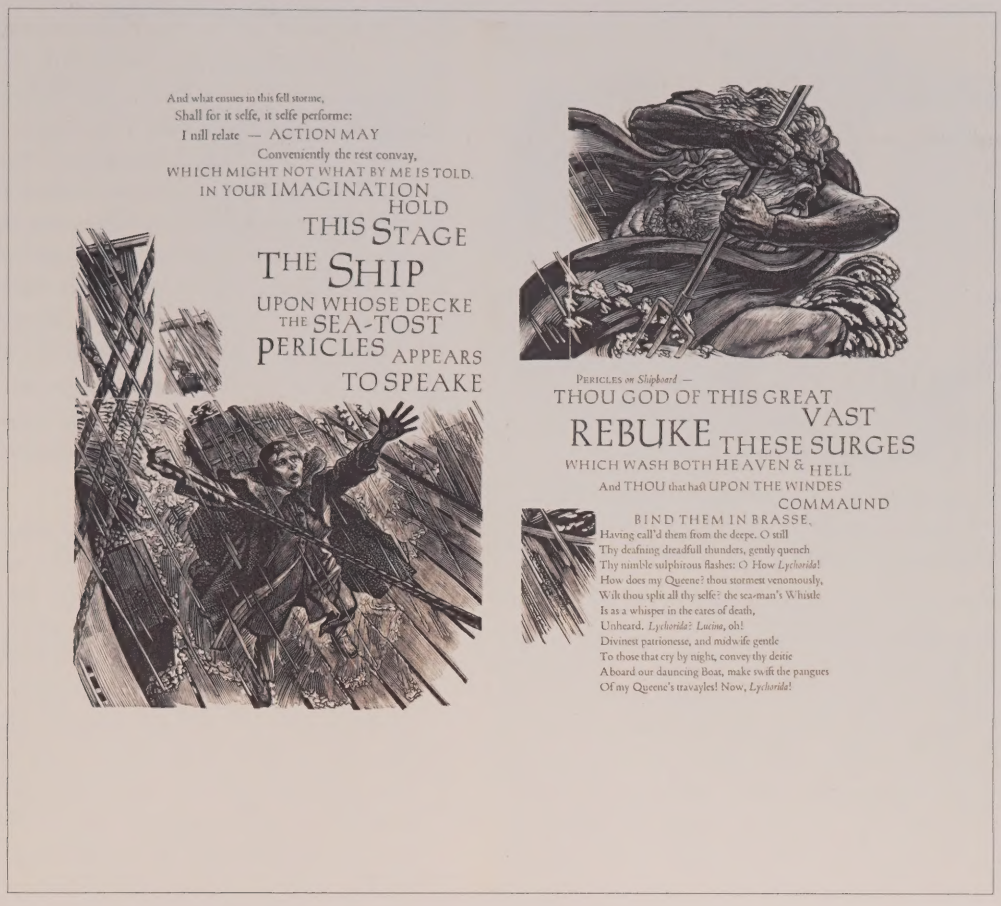
In the late 1930s, Hyde produced a portfolio of engravings for a planned edition of *Macbeth* for Toronto's Golden Dog Press. The minimal compositions, distorted perspectives, and dramatic contrasts are typical of modernist aesthetics, and Hyde uses the grain of the wood to give the images an otherworldly texture. The compositions of his full-page illustrations often combine two scenes in upper and lower panels, which hints at sinister causal relationships between the supernatural and the bloody world of Scottish politics. In Hyde's talented hands, wood-engraving would again become a technique for visual storytelling in the form of his 'wordless novel,' *The Southern Cross: a Novel of the South Seas, Told in Wood Engravings* (1951), which tells the story of the human cost of atomic weapons testing in the Pacific. In both works, Hyde used wood-engraving to create small, simple images to portray elemental powers that make the human world seem insignificant. Like Kessler, Hyde's own political beliefs caused him career setbacks during the anti-communist hysteria of the fifties and sixties, but his work remains influential today, and deserves to be better known.

THE BOOK AS PERFORMANCE: SHAKESPEARE AND THE BOOK ARTS TODAY

The idea of the book as a kind of performance manifests in several of the examples we have considered already, but nowhere more so than in the edition of *Pericles* published in 2011 by the Barbarian Press, based in Mission, BC, and operated by Crispin and Jan Elsted (1947–; 1950–). Combining the editing and design talents of co-proprietor Crispin Elsted, calligraphy by Andrea Taylor (1969–), bindings by Hélène Francoeur, and over one hundred illustrations by Simon Brett (1943–), this remarkable book shows what can be accomplished by a small press working with quality materials and an adventurous approach. Unlike most of the well-known Shakespeare works mentioned elsewhere in this exhibition, *Pericles* is 'an anomaly in the Shakespeare canon,' as one recent editor has called it, and hardly an obvious choice for an expensive artists' book in a limited run.[31] Although this late romance set in the Mediterranean was highly popular in Shakespeare's time and after the restora-


THIS
ANTIOCH
THEN:
ANTIOCHUS THE GREAT,
BUYLT UP THIS CITIE,
FOR HIS CHIEFEST SEAT;
THE FAYREST IN ALL SYRIA.
(I TELL YOU WHAT MINE AUTHORS SAYE.)
This King unto him tooke a Peere,
Who dyed,
and left a female beyre,
So buckxom, blith, and full of face,
As heaven had lent her all his grace:
With whom the Father liking tooke,
And her to incest did provoke:
Bad child, worse father, to entice his owne
To evill, should be done by none:
But custome what they did begin,
Was with long use, account'd no sinne;

'I tell you what mine authors saye': the chorus, Gower, with the help of Simon Brett's illustrations narrates the unsettling opening of *Pericles*, in which the title character discovers the King of Antioch's rape of his own daughter. Brett's images make the fact of sexual violence in the story impossible to ignore, which might otherwise remain merely a plot point that sets the events of the play in motion.


And what ensues in this fell storme,
Shall for it selfe, it selfe performe:
I nill relate — ACTION MAY
Conveniently the rest convay,
WHICH MIGHT NOT WHAT BY ME IS TOLD.
IN YOUR IMAGINATION
HOLD
THIS STAGE
THE SHIP
UPON WHOSE DECKE
THE SEA-TOST
PERICLES APPEARS
TO SPEAKE
PERICLES *on Shipboard* —
THOU GOD OF THIS GREAT
VAST
REBUKE THESE SURGES
WHICH WASH BOTH HEAVEN & HELL
And THOU that hast UPON THE WINDES
COMMAUND
BIND THEM IN BRASSE,
Having call'd them from the deepe. O still
Thy deafning dreadfull thunders, gently quench
Thy nimble sulphirous flashes: O How *Lychorida*!
How does my Queene? thou stormest venomously,
Wilt thou spit all thy selfe? the sea-man's Whistle
Is as a whisper in the eares of death,
Unheard. *Lychorida*? *Lucina*, oh!
Divinest patrioness, and midwife gentle
To those that cry by night, convey thy deitie
Aboard our dauncing Boat, make swift the pangues
Of my Queene's travayles! Now, *Lychorida*!

'Thou god of this great vast, rebuke these surges, which wash both heaven and hell': a desperate father confronts the storm in the Barbarian Press *Pericles*.

tion of the public theatres in 1660, it presents any modern re-interpreter with real challenges: a corrupt text with numerous errors; a plot dependent on providential coincidences; an episodic romance structure with mostly flat, conventional characters in lieu of psychological realism; a reputation as one of Shakespeare's lesser plays, written as a late-career collaboration with another dramatist; its omission (possibly on the same grounds) from the first great bibliographical instantiation of the Shakespeare canon, the 1623 First Folio; and a lack of a continuous, high-profile stage tradition on the scale of *Hamlet*, *Macbeth*, *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, or even its more admired late-romance counterpart, *The Tempest*. Today, *Pericles* is a tough sell.

Yet in the words of the play's chorus, John Gower—the medieval author who supplies the story via his retelling of the legend of Apollonius of Tyre—the volume brings several of the book arts together 'To sing a song that old was sung.' Brett's illustrations, in particular, evoke many of the conventions of modern graphic novels, and make brilliant use of the technique of wood-engraving in service of visual storytelling, in the same spirit as Hyde's earlier work. As Brett comments in the edition's companion volume of essays and notes,

> What *is* an illustrated book? … [A]few plates scattered between the pages of a book hardly engage the text at all, however artistic they may be. What the perfect balance—the 'fully' illustrated book—may be, nags at every illustrator's mind. A play 'acted out' on the page is an answer, bringing to life the silences, illustrating the dumb shows, articulating the voyages.[32]

For these and other reasons, the Barbarian Press Pericles has been recognized as an achievement in modern Canadian printing, winning awards from the Alcuin Society and the Oxford Fine Press Book Fair. Ordinary readers, however, may discover that this remarkable performance in print can help us reconnect with Shakespeare's tale of a father trying desperately to protect his daughter, and enduring terrible hardship and separation, as they flee persecution from the shores of the Middle East across the waters of the Mediterranean—a story that has become all too familiar again since late 2015.

Just as performances of Shakespeare are realized on grand and small stages alike, so can Shakespearean artists' books make a virtue of the diminutive. *Storming Shakespeare* (2013), the creation of west-coast bookmaker Jan Kellet, takes the form of three tiny volumes in a triple *dós-a-dós* (back-to-back) binding, in a very limited run of only twenty copies.[33] Kellet adapted this unusual binding style—used in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries to bind New Testaments and Psalters together for convenience—to combine three explorations of her theme: an essay on Shakespeare's use of storms; a collection of storm-themed quotations from

A small book embodies a powerful theme in Jan Kellett's *Storming Shakespeare*, a small-format artist's book in a triple *dós-a-dós* binding, made in a limited run of only 20 copies.

Julius Caesar and *King Lear*, with drypoint and monotype illustrations; and a similar illustrated collection of quotations from the opening scene of *The Tempest*. As with the tiny nine-volume Pickering collected works in 48mo format discussed above, the unusual *dós-a-dós-a-dós* format of *Storming Shakespeare* means that a great amount of care and artistry must be concentrated into a small package. In Kellett's words, 'Making miniature books is particularly demanding as each part has to be scaled down and thoughts distilled to make a functioning book that appeals to the eye, mind and the sense of touch. … Their small size makes for an intimacy between reader and book, giving the impression of an almost secret pleasure, something that is to be savoured rather than swallowed whole.'[34] The irony of using a small, intimate format to explore the elemental power of nature would not have been lost on Shakespeare, whose plays often ask audiences to collaborate imaginatively to help the performance transcend the confines of the theatre.

'O, full of scorpions is my mind': the annotations of the troubled actor 'Dechard Rinderpest' in his personal copy of Macbeth show through the wound-like cuts in Don Taylor's binding for *Illustrations for 'Macbeth.'*

Toronto has already been represented in this exhibition through the work of Laurence Hyde in the 1930s, and today the city is home to a thriving community of practitioners of the book arts. Their contributions to Shakespearean bookmaking are represented here by Don Taylor and Robert Wu, both of whom show how the binding of a book can be integral to the story it tells as a physical artifact. The Don Taylor binding highlighted in this exhibition was created for *Illustrations for 'Macbeth,'* published in 2012 by Toronto's Pointyhead Press. This beautiful yet enigmatic volume pairs quotations from the play with haunting illustrations by one 'Dechard Rinderpest,' the pseudonym of a local actor who, according to the book's preface, had his career cut tragically short due to psychological trauma combined with a head injury sustained while playing Lady Macbeth. As the preface describes,

> It was during Mr. Rinderpest's long rehabilitation that he began work on a large body of illustrations for 'Macbeth,' dispelling his demons through dark imaginings of scenes and personalities in this violent and bloody tragedy. Quotations from the play were rendered in pen and ink or palette knife and finger paint on a sheet of glass and monoprinted onto cheap Chinese calligraphy paper. A sadly deteriorated copy of the MacMillan Co. Pocket Classic edition of 1922, found among his personal affects, reflects the intensity of feeling that he brought to this project. The results are messy and disturbing, surely indicative of the artist's mental state.

(There are reasons to suspect that the story told in this book's preface is not entirely serious—except about the genuine talent reflected in these illustrations.) Taylor's binding takes images of Rinderpest's 1922 MacMillan edition of *Macbeth*, apparently annotated in his anxious hand, and covers them with black leather and red highlights—but slashed diagonally in places, as though by a murderer's dagger. Like the violence done to various bodies throughout *Macbeth*, the cuts in Taylor's binding reveal a traumatic history just below the surface, with the annotated pages of Rinderpest's own edition showing through these unclosed bibliographic wounds.

Similarly, Robert Wu's art bookbindings not only enclose and protect old books, but also reinterpret their themes and visual motifs. Wu's 2012 binding of *A Midsummer Night's Dream* is no exception, and boasts a full French binding with a chemise, slipcase, opal inlays and onlays, and hand-marbled paper.[35] The design concept, as Wu describes it on his blog, is that 'the viewer peeks through the bushes into the nightly sky and sees fairies frolic around the ribbons. The ribbons form the shape of doubled hearts representing the human characters in the play. I hope to achieve this idea of constant play/struggles between reality and [the] fantasy world.' Wu's volume also embodies the theme of Shakespearean reinvention by re-binding a 1914 edition illustrated by the great English cartoonist W. Heath Robinson (1872–1944). The tiny figures that adorn Wu's binding are taken individually from several of the 1914 illustrations. Wu has arranged them to echo Robinson's visual motif of a mob of fairies tumbling into the frame, spreading magic and mischief behind the scenes of ordinary human affair.

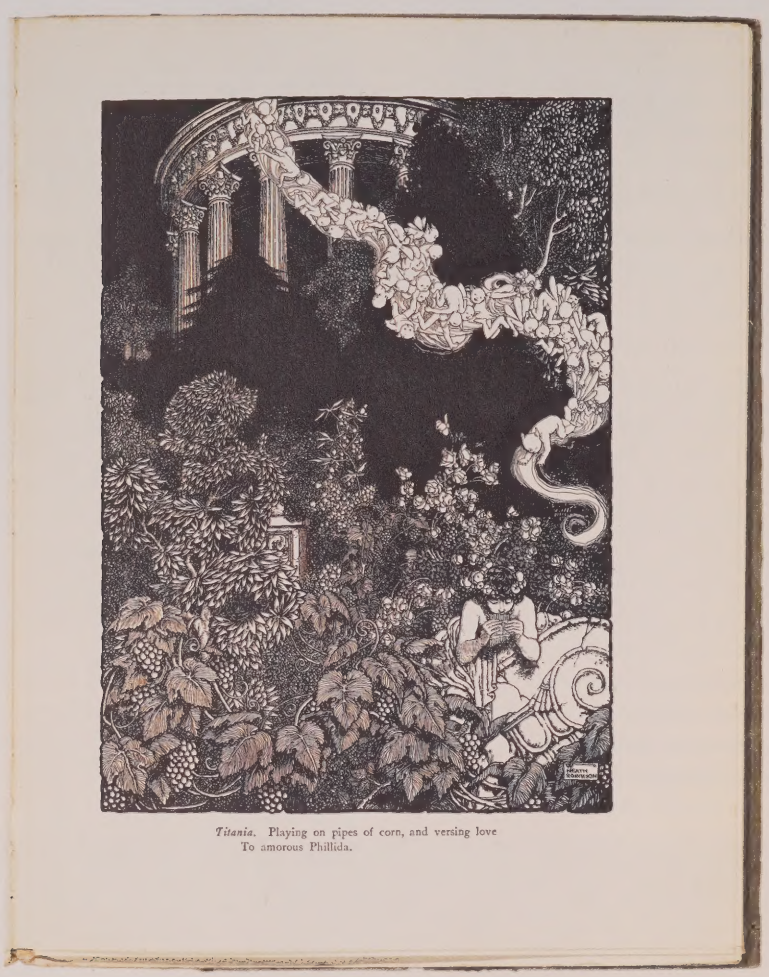
'[Puck]: what fools these mortals be!': two modes of illustration face each other in the 1914 Constable & Co. edition of *A Midsummer Night's Dream.*

Wu's collaboration with the past through the art of bookbinding is typical of the best engagements with Shakespeare's works through the form of the book. The past two centuries have seen an astonishing range of interpretive, artistic, educational, dramatic, and ideological uses to which Shakespeare may be put, and yet a constant theme is the works' capacity to inspire and reward experimentation. Digital editions of Shakespeare are but the latest entries in a long tradition of new media experimentation, and we should understand that tradition as being closely connected to the book form, not antithetical to it. Those who wish to reassert the value of physical books often find themselves arguing that the inexpensive, well-thumbed paperback (which is largely a twentieth-century invention) is the superior medium because it can be read in places like bathtubs and beaches. Such an argument has at least two flaws: one, that it essentializes a comparatively modern codex form in place of the great variety that exist today; and the other, that it values books only for their supposed immutability, thereby ignoring both the adaptability that characterizes its history, and the potential for innovation that is alive and well in print publication.

As this exhibition shows, the form of the Shakespearean book has never stood still, but has changed in concert with our own understanding of Shakespeare, literature, and the relation between past and present. Digital editions are

'PUCK: I'll follow you, I'll lead you about a round, / Through bog, through bush, through brake, through briar': Robert Wu's binding for a 1914 edition of *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, incorporating elements from Edward Heath Robinson's original illustrations.

already using sound, image, animation, and other elements to reinvent the way Shakespeare's texts can be experienced, and the most promising ones are designed with an appreciation of the long history of Shakespeare's mediation in printed books. As outlets for the bibliographical imagination, digital experiments with Shakespeare may be likened to Puck and his magical colleagues from *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, tumbling into human affairs and upsetting the status quo, but also awakening a sense of wonder and possibility.



Titania. Playing on pipes of corn, and versing love
To amorous Phillida.

'[Puck]: I am that merry wanderer of the night': W. Heath Robinson's fairies stream through the pastoral nighttime.

NOTES

INTRODUCTION

1 The Fisher copy is no. 98 in the 1902 Lee census: Sidney Lee, *Shakespeare's Comedies, Histories, & Tragedies. Supplement Containing a Census* (Oxford, 1902); no. 191 in the West catalogue: Anthony James West, *The Shakespeare First Folio : The History of the Book.* 2 vols. (Oxford, 2003); and no. 191 in the Rasmussen catalogue: Eric Rasmussen, *The Shakespeare First Folios : A Descriptive Catalogue* (Basingstoke, 2012).

2 According to an article by Charles Taylor in the *Globe and Mail*, 1 December 1973, Sidney Fisher was lobbied by both University of Toronto President Claude Bissell and the Ontario premier John Robarts to donate the collection to Toronto rather than McGill or another Canadian institution.

3 See Sidney T. Fisher, *The Merchant-Millers of the Humber Valley : A Study of the Early Economy of Canada* (Toronto: NC Press, 1985) for more details.

4 *University of Toronto Bulletin*, No. 32 (Monday 23 April, 1973), p.1.

5 The Hollar etchings have been fully digitized and are freely available online through the Fisher Library website. http://link.library.utoronto.ca/hollar/ .

6 Sidney Fisher, letter to Massey, 22 August 1955. Fisher Library Ms. Coll. 145, box 4. Fisher notes that his set of folios 'are finer than I could have hoped. The First Folio is one of the fifteen Firsts listed by Sir Sidney Lee as a "good" First, and the Fourth is the largest and finest known'.

7 Sidney Fisher, letter to Massey, 13 February 1956, Fisher Library Ms. Coll. 145, box 4.

8 Sidney Fisher, letter to Massey, 11 April 1956, Fisher Library Ms. Coll. 145, box. 4.

9 David Willock, associate editor of *Weekend Magazine*, letter to Sidney Fisher referring to the article, 11 July 1956.

10 The generosity of this offer was acknowledged by I.M. Owen in a letter to Fisher on 1 June 1956, Ms. Coll. 145, box 4. Fisher also supported the cost of the catalogue for the exhibit.

11 *An Exhibit of Shakespeare Books from the Collection of Mr. Sidney Fisher of Montreal* (Montreal, 1956). The catalogue sold for 25 cents.

12 Letter from Kathleen Mathers to Fisher, 18 September 1956. Fisher Library Ms. Coll. 145, box 4.

13 There was enormous public interest and several biographies of Betty were published during his lifetime, often going into multiple editions. See for example, T. Harral, *The Infant Roscius* (London, 1804).

14 Colman described the 1948 sale in a letter to Fisher, 17 July 1955: 'The four folios were the only English item, and seemed to have been over-looked, as I obtained them for much less than my limit (which was £3,800). It was the 1st folio which I wanted, as I had good 2nd, 3rd, and 4th, but my two other firsts have considerable imperfections'.

15 Anthony James West, *The Shakespeare First Folio*, volume 1: An Account of the First Folio based on its Sales and Prices, 1623-2000 (Oxford, 2001). For helpful summary tables see p. 35-36 and p. 50-52.

16 Sidney Fisher, letter to Pettigrew, 29 April 1955, in Fisher Library, Ms Coll. 145, box 4.

17 See Anthony West, *The Shakespeare First Folio*, notes for copy 203.

18 *The Book Collector*, vol. 19, no. 3 (1970), p. 379-80.

19 Although referred to and quoted from by Fisher several times in his correspondence, the original Maggs letter of 20 May has not so far been located.

20 Letter from Richard Pennington to Sidney Fisher, 17 June 1955. Fisher Library Ms Coll. 145, box 4.

21 The National Archives; Kew, England; *Prerogative Court of Canterbury and Related Probate Jurisdictions: Will Registers*; Class: PROB 11; Piece: 706.

22 West records only thirty sales of first folios in the 1700s. Anthony West, *The Shakespeare First Folio,* vol. 1, table 1. B, p. 25.

23 Sotheby, Wilkinson, and Hodge. *Catalogue of an Important and Valuable Library ... sold Monday 12th of March, 1883 and the Following Days.* (London, 1883).

24 Bernard Quaritch. *A Rough List of the Valuable and Rare Books ...* (London, April 2, 1883), p. 1.

25 Quaritch, *Rough List*, items 239 and 240.

26 Bernard Quaritch. *Catalogue of English Literature.* Quaritch's General Catalogue, Part X. (London: 1884), Item 22196, p. 2169.

27 *The Bibliographer*, Vol. IV , June 1883, (London: Elliot Stock, 1883), p. 15.

28 Sidney Lee, *Shakespeare's Comedies, Histories, & Tragedies ...* with introduction and census of copies. (Oxford, 1902).

29 Correspondence from John Boyd Thacher to Sidney Lee, 22 July 1901. Contained in the Lee census returns, Shakespeare Birthplace Trust Records Office, Stratford-upon-Avon, England. The Fisher copy is no. 98 in the published census but filed under no. 135 in the Records Office.

30 West notes that at least six copies of the First Folio had been purchased by Americans by 1850 and a further nine by 1860 and that by the end of the century American demand was putting pressure on prices, even before Folger began buying in earnest in the first three decades of the twentieth century. Anthony West, *The Shakespeare First Folio,* pp.33-34 and p.50.

31 *Catalogue of the Library of Robert Hoe of New York ... to be Sold by Auction Beginning ... April 24, 1911[-November 18, 1912] by the Anderson Auction Company.* (New York, 1911-1912).

32 Carl L. Cannon, *American Book Collectors and Collecting* (New York, 1941), p. 318-34.

33 Anthony West, *The Shakespeare First Folio.* Of the 219 copies recorded at that time forty-six were in the British Isles, 147 in North America and the remaining twenty-six in the rest of the world, including Japan.

34 Henrietta Bartlett was a cataloger/bibliographer with a strong interest in Shakespeare. She worked closely with a major American Shakespeare collector, William Augustus White (1843-1927), preparing a hand list of his library and wrote the exhibition catalogue for the Shakespeare tercentenary exhibition at the NYPL in 1916 which she later expanded into a book entitled *Mr. William Shakespeare: Original and Early Editions of his Quartos and Folios,* (Yale University Press, 1922). She also co-authored a census of the Shakespeare quartos with Alfred W. Pollard in 1939.

35 Cannon, *American Book Collectors and Collecting,* p. 143.

36 Robert O. Schad, *Henry Edwards Huntington: The Founder & his Library*, (Los Angeles, 1969), p. 21.

37 Letter from Arthur Swann of Parke-Bernet Galleries to Sidney Fisher, 13 September 1955, quoting Dr. Terry: 'Purchased 1916 from Mr. Huntington through George D. Smith'. Fisher Library, Ms. Coll. 145, box 4.

38 Anderson Galleries Parke Bernet sale 7 November 1934, lot 289, sold for $9750. A letter in the Fisher Library office files from Henrietta Bartlett to Terry around 1916 gives details of the First Folio collation Chew prepared when he was the owner, which she evidently transcribed from Chew's card file. These notes (or a copy of them) were still laid into the

First Folio when it was offered at the November 1934 sale.

39 Sotheby, Wilkinson, and Hodge. *Catalogue of an Important and Valuable Library … sold Monday 12th of March, 1883 and the Following Days.* (London, 1883). The printed description in the catalogue itself mentions the lack of title page, but the lack of the verses page is mentioned only in the annotation. The annotated copy is available on microfilm.

40 *The Bibliographer*, Vol. IV (June 1883), (London: Elliot Stock, 1883), p. 16-17.

41 Bernard Quaritch. *Rough List* 64, item 239.

42 Bernard Quaritch. *Catalogue of English Literature*. Quaritch's General Catalogue, Part X. (London: 1884), Item 22196, p. 2169.

43 Quaritch, *General Catalogue* 1884 notes in the entry for this copy that 'since the beginning of this century, only *four* perfect and satisfactory copies (besides the above) have been sold', item 22197, p. 148.

44 Bernard Quaritch, *A Catalogue of Books in English History and Literature from the Earliest Times to the End of the Seventeenth Century*. Catalogue 436. (London, 1930). The back cover advertises facsimiles of all the preliminary leaves and the last leaf, at prices ranging from one pound one shilling, to three pounds, three shillings.

45 Exhibition of the Works of Industry of All Nations, 1851, *Reports by the Juries on the Subjects in the Thirty Classes into which the Exhibition was Divided*, (London, 1852), p. 405.

46 *Notes and Queries*, 2nd series,(1858), p. 180.

47 See the account of the life of John Harris in *The Times Literary Supplement* attributed to William Roberts, Thursday, 23 January 1919, p.48; additional information comes from Barry Gaines, 'A Forgotten Artist: John Harris and the Rylands copy of Caxton's Edition of Malory'. *John Rylands Library Bulletin*, Vol. LII, no. 1 (autumn 1969), p. 115-128. A passing comment in the TLS article refers to Harris's son as 'a tailor by trade, who in his spare time did facsimile work for the late Bernard Quaritch', but a study by Neil Harris, 'The Ripoli 'Decameron', Guglielmo Libri and the 'incomparabile' Harris', in *The Italian Book 1465-1800* … (London: The British Library, 1993), p. 323-333, referring to the period between 1850 and 1866, indicates that the famous Harris's profession as a facsimilist was 'continued by his son'; see p. 328-9 and Notes 7-12.

48 Correspondence from John Boyd Thacher to Sidney Lee, 22 July 1901. Contained in the Lee census returns, Shakespeare Birthplace Trust Records Office, Stratford-upon-Avon, England.

49 Letter from Arthur Swann of Parke-Bernet Galleries to Sidney Fisher, 13 Sept. 1955, enclosing 'the only copy of Part II of the catalog [of the 1934 Anderson Galleries Parke Bernet sale], that is available. You will find your folio described as #289'. The description quotes Henrietta Bartlett: 'Mr. Chew replaced the facsimile title which was in it at the time he bought it by a facsimile by Harris which is much better'. Fisher Library, Ms Coll. 145, box 4.

50 Richard Landon, *Bibliophilia scholastica floreat* (Toronto, 2005), p. 33-39.

CHAPTER ONE

1 The titles in chronological order are *2 Henry VI, 3 Henry VI, Titus Andronicus, Richard II, Richard III, Romeo and Juliet, 1 Henry IV, Love's Labours Lost, 2 Henry IV, Henry V, Merchant of Venice, Midsummer Night's Dream, Much Ado, Merry Wives, Hamlet, King Lear, and Troilus and Cressida.*

2 Lukas Erne, *Shakespeare and the Book Trade* (Cambridge University Press, 2013).

3 Edward Gwynn's copy, Folger Shakespeare Library STC 26101, copy 1.

4 Anon., *Wits Recreations* (1640: STC 25870), nos. 269-70 (sig. G3v).

CHAPTER TWO

1 We now know that some of Shakespeare's plays in the First Folio were collaborative. Other plays attributed to Shakespeare, such as *Pericles* (c. 1608), were not included in The First Folio.

2 This chapter is heavily indebted to the work of Peter W.M. Blayney. In addition to his contribution to this catalogue, I have also drawn on his *The First Folio of Shakespeare* (Washington DC: The Folger Shakespeare Library, 1991) and his unpublished notes on Jaggard, c.1980–1981. For additional discussion of William Jaggard, especially details of his birth and apprenticeship, see the entry by Stanley Wells in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography (ODNB).*

3 As Peter Blayney has shown in his unpublished notes, there were also some additional smaller jobs attributed to Jaggard at this time, some of which remain in dispute.

4 For images of the Christie's copy, see http://www.christies.com/lotfinder/books-manscripts/glover-robert-nobilitas-politica-vel-5698421-details.aspx. For details of the Folger's copy, see the catalogue details for Folger Call # STC11922, copy 3. For samples of the coloured engravings see Folger's Digital Image 966. For details on the Huntingdon armorial (stamp 3), see the British Armorial Database https://armorial.library.utoronto.ca. For more on Huntingdon, see James Knowles's entry in the *Oxford DNB.*

5 See for example, Peter Stallybrass's discussion in 'Little Jobs': broadsides and the printing revolution' in *Agent of Change: Print Studies after Elizabeth L. Eisenstein.* Sabrina Alcorn Baron, Eric N. Lindquist and Eleanor F. Shevlin. (eds.) (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2007), p. 332.

6 Recent scholarship has shown that Thomas Milles was particularly attuned to the errors in his printed works and subsequently went to great lengths to correct them by hand. See William Sherman and Heather Wolfe, 'The Department of Hybrid Books: Thomas Milles between Print and Manuscript,' *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 45.3 (2015): 443–456. See also *The Collation*, 'Margents and All: Thomas Milles between Manuscript and Print,' July 26, 2013, http://collation.folger .edu/2013/07/margents-and-all-thomas-milles-between-manuscript-and-print.

7 For an important chapter on The First Folio, patronage, and the largely overlooked role of Edward Blount, see Sonia Massai, 'Edward Blount, The Herberts and The First Folio' in Marta Strazincky (ed.) *Shakespeare's Stationers: Studies in Cultural Bibliography* (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013), p. 134–146.

8 It is also important to consider the potential roles of The King's Men, the playing company of which Shakespeare was a member. The Preface in the First Folio, by Hemminge and Cordell, is especially important in this regard.

9 For a more detailed discussion of William Jaggard's involvement in the printing of Shakespeare's plays and playbills from 1619 onwards, see Peter Blayney's chapter in this catalogue.

10 For a good discussion of miscalculation during casting off, see Blayney, *The First Folio of Shakespeare* (Washington DC: The Folger Shakespeare Library, 1991).

11 Charlton Hinman, *The Printing and Proof-reading of the Shakespeare First Folio* (Oxford, Clarendon, 1963); Blayney, *The First Folio.*

12 See Blayney, *The First Folio of Shakespeare*, 5 and also Anthony Grafton, *The Culture of Correction in Renaissance Europe* (London, British Library, 2013).

13 Henry Lilly (1588/9–1638). Since Lilly was named Rouge Dragon Pursuivant on 1 February 1638 and then died in 29 August, 1638, his annotations and signature on the Fisher's copy of Burton's *Description of Leicestershire* must date to 1638. For further details on Lilly, see Thomas Woodcock's entry on the *ODNB*.

14 Details of George Lathum's involvement in the trade are available in volume three of the *English Short-Title Catalogue* (p.103). I am indebted to Peter Blayney for the meaning behind Lathum's inscription.

CHAPTER THREE

1 Admittedly, while the film does not show Shakespeare consulting books, it does show him drawing on the influence and advice of contemporary dramatists such as Christopher Marlowe and actors such as Edward Alleyn. The starting point for any discussion of the books that Shakespeare consulted remains Geoffrey Bullough (ed.) *The Narrative and Dramatic Sources of Shakespeare* 8 vols. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1975). But as this chapter will suggest, we need to broaden our scope beyond known sources if we are to imagine the larger purview of Shakespeare's reading.

2 For a comprehensive discussion of the ways books were used in the period, see William H. Sherman, *Used Books: Marking Readers in Renaissance England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008).

3 For details on the various aspects of Holinshed's *Chronicles*, see *The Holinshed Project.* http://www.cems.ox.ac.uk/holinshed

4 For a close analysis of these censored pages and the larger context of censorship in the period, see Cyndia Susan Clegg (Ed.) and Randall McLeod (Textual Comm.) *The Peaceable and Prosperous Regiment of blessed Queene Elisabeth: A Facsimile from Holinshed's Chronicles* (London: 1587) (San Marino, Huntington Library, 2005).

5 See especially chapter 2 of Annabel Patterson, *Reading Holinshed's Chronicles* (Chicago: Chicago UP, 1994).

6 Shakespeare used Holinshed as source for various plays, including *Henry VI, Parts 1–3, Richard III, Richard II, Henry IV, Parts 1* and *2, Henry V, King John, King Lear, Macbeth and Cymbeline.*

7 Holinshed's *Chronicles* (London, 1587) Vol. 6, p. 555.

8 *Chronicles* p. 555.

9 For a more detailed discussion of language and imagery in the play, see Warren Chernaik, *The Cambridge Introduction to Shakespeare's History Plays* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2007), p. 91–116.

10 On commonwealth theory and its importance in Holinshed, see Igor Djordjevic, 'Holinshed and Medieval History' in *The Oxford Handbook of Holinshed's Chronicles.* (Oxford, Oxford UP 2013), esp. p. 517–519.

11 Philip Sidney, *Defense of Poesie* in *The Countesse of Pembrokes Arcadia* (London, 1613). STC 22544a. 2T1v.

12 Ramelli's *Le Diverse et artificiose machine del Capitano Agostino Ramelli* was originally published in 1588. It included 195 devices, of which the book wheel was one. The Fisher's copy is of the later German translation, published in Leipzig in 1620.

13 Shakespeare may also have had access to earlier chronicles, including the 1523 English translation of Froissart by John Berners and John Bellenden's 1540 translation of Hector Boece's *Historia gentis Scotorum (History of the Scottish People)* (1527). The Fisher has copies of all these works too.

14 For more on Edward Hall, and the publication of *The Union*, see the entry by Peter Herman in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography.*

15 During his lifetime, it was the narrative poems and the history plays that proved most popular in print, often seeing multiple editions. For more on this point, see Peter Blayney, 'The Publication of Playbooks' in John D. Cox and David Scott Kastan (eds.) *A New History of Early English Drama.* (New York: Columbia UP, 1997), p. 383–422.

16 For the possible influences of the *Mirror* on writers of Renaissance drama, see Paul Budra, *A Mirror for Magistrates and the de casibus Tradition* (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 2000).

17 See the introduction to *Antony and Cleopatra* by Michael Neill (ed.). (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), p. 7.

18 For discussion of the structure and literariness of Plutarch see chapter 6 in Colin Burrow, *Shakespeare and Classical Antiquity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013).

19 For a close discussion of the translations, particularly how the discrepancies between Amyot and North shape *Julius Caesar*, see chapter 4 of Oliver Arnold, *The Third Citizen: Shakespeare's Theatre and the Early Modern House of Commons* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 2007).

20 All citations are to the 1579 edition. This quotation is from p. 981.

21 On Shakespeare's careful reworking of North's Plutarch and North's own misreading of Amyot's French translation, see Arnold, *The Third Citizen.*

22 For a more detailed comparison of Shakespeare and Plutarch and the importance of soliloquy, see Jon Roe, 'Character in Plutarch and Shakespeare' in Charles Martindale and A.B. Taylor (eds.) *Shakespeare and the Classics* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2004), p. 173–187.

23 For more on Shakespeare and the Bible, see the essays in *Shakespeare, the Bible, and the Form of the Book: Contested Scriptures.* Travis DeCook and Alan Galey. (eds) (London: Routledge, 2012). For more on the Fisher's holdings of English Bibles, see Pearce J. Carefoote, *Great and Manifold: A Celebration of the Bible in English* (Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library, University of Toronto, 2011). For the most thorough account of English Bibles in this period, including three chapters on the Geneva Bible, see David Daniell, *The Bible in English: Its History and Influence* (New Haven: Yale UP, 2003).

24 For Shakespeare's use of Ovid, see especially Jonathan Bate, *Shakespeare and Ovid* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994); and Lynn Enterline, *The Rhetoric of the Body from Ovid to Shakespeare* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2006).

25 For a good discussion of the possible media for the Ovidian story of Venus and Adonis, for example, see Bruce R. Smith, 'Carnal Knowledge' in *Phenomenal Shakespeare* (Malden, MA. Wiley-Blackwell, 2010), p. 82–131.

26 For a discussion of reference genres, including compilations of classical sources, see chapter 3 of Ann Blair, *Too Much to*

Know: Managing Scholarly Information before the Modern Age (New Haven: Yale UP, 2010), p. 117–172.

CHAPTER FOUR

1 On Shakespeare as a neologist, see David Crystal, *Think on my Words: Exploring Shakespeare's Language* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), esp. Ch. 1; Robert Watson, 'Coining Words on the Elizabethan and Jacobean Stage,' *Philological Quarterly* 88 (2008), 49–75; Hugh Craig, 'Shakespeare's Vocabulary: Myth and Reality,' *Shakespeare Quarterly* 62.1 (2011), 53–74.

2 Joseph Porter, *The Drama of Speech Acts: Shakespeare's Lancastrian Tetralogy* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979), p. 153.

3 For a concise summary of this moment in English's history, and a lightly annotated bibliography on the topic, see Paula Blank, 'The Babel of English' in *The Oxford History of English*, ed. Lynda Mugglestone, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), p. 212–239. Seminal works on this topic include: Richard Foster Jones, *The Triumph of the English Language* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1953); Charles Laurence Barber, *Early Modern English* (London: Deutsch, 1976); David Baker, *Between Nations: Shakespeare, Spenser, Marvell, and the Question of Britain* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997), esp.p. 1–65; Peter Burke, *Languages and Communities in Early Modern Europe*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004); John Kerrigan, *Archipelagic English: Literature, History, and Politics, 1603–1707* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008).

4 On Florio, see especially Michael Wyatt, *The Italian Encounter with Tudor England: A Cultural Politics of Translation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), p. 157–202; and Frances A. Yates, *John Florio: The Life of an Italian in Shakespeare's England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1934).

5 John Florio, *Florio his firste Fruites* (London: Thomas Woodcock, 1578), fol 50v. See Blank, 'The Babel of English,' on the importance of dialectical differences internal to English in this period.

6 Richard Mulcaster, *The First Part of the Elementarie* (London: Thomas Vautrollier, 1582), p. 81–82.

7 Verstegan proposes that while first the Gauls and then the Romans invaded Britain, only the Anglo-Saxons made a full conquest—a conquest never fully undone by the subsequent invasions of Danes and Normans. See his *A Restitution of Decayed Intelligence* (Antwerp 1605). For the ways in which Verstegan's *Restitution* reconfigued Englishness, see chapter 2 of my *Doppelgänger Dilemmas: Anglo-Dutch Relations in Early Modern English Literature and Culture* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014).

8 For a concise accounts of Renaissance Gothicism in early modern ethnographies, see Maurice Olender, 'Europe, or How to Escape Babel,' *History and Theory* 33.4 (1994), 5–25; and Kristoffer Neville 'Gothicism and Early Modern Historical Ethnography,' *Journal of the History of Ideas* 70.2 (2009), 213–234.

9 Verstegan oversaw the production of the illustrations for his work, so it is especially interesting the he chose to feature the forefather of the English-Saxon people by flanking him with the story of Babel in the background. We glimpse Tuisco both in the foreground and background, leading his people away from the cursed tower and toward new territory, in Europe. Through visual representation and linguistic evidence, Verstegan worked to underscore connections between seventeenth-century English-speaking people and the Saxon 'original,' one among the seventy-two ethno-linguistic kin groups, or 'nations', at Babel.

10 Verstegan, *A Restitution*, p. 96–7.

11 For a discussion of antecedents to Cawdrey's hard word list, see Jonathon Green, *Chasing the Sun: Dictionary Makers and the Dictionaries they Made* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1996), p. 172.

12 Jürgen Schäfer, *Early Modern English Lexicography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), 2 vol., 1.2543.

13 If Cawdrey intended to remedy the mixedness of English, his plan 'had a serious flaw,' Paula Blank, author of *Broken English: Dialects and the Politics of Language in Renaissance Writings*, contends: 'he gives neologism a certain cachet; those who understand 'hard words', his work implies, enjoy a social advantage over those who do not,' what is more, by 'publishing and circulating' this work, Cawdrey helps 'advance the new English dictionaries as 'official' works that codified the language they set out, in part, to critique,' (p. 21).

14 Barber, *Early Modern English*, p. 76.

15 T.W. Baldwin, *William Shakespere's small Latine & lesse Greeke* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1944), vol. 1, p. 717–718. For affinities between Shakespeare and Baret, see also Patricia Parker, *Shakespeare from the Margins* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996), p. 182.

16 For a sober and thoughtful evaluation of Koppelman and Wechsler's claim, see the post on the Folger Shakespeare Library's *Collation* blog by Michael Witmore and Heather Wolfe: 'Buzz or honey? Shakespeare's Beehive raises questions,' April 21, 2014, http://collation.folger.edu/2014/04/buzz-or-honey-shakespeares-beehive-raises-questions/.

17 Susan Phillips, 'Schoolmasters, Seduction, and Slavery: Polyglot Dictionaries and Premodern England,' *Medievalia et Humanistica* 34 (2008), 130.

18 Originally entitled the *Vocabulare*, the earliest editions of the bilingual Flemish-French vocabulary were printed in two Gothic letter columns, organized alphabetically according to the Flemish with a corresponding French gloss. The first known edition, which has not survived, appeared in 1530 and scholars agree that there were likely earlier editions in the 1520s. On other dictionaries over the course of this period, see Werner Hüllen, *English Dictionaries, 800–1700: The Topical Tradition* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999); also Kathleen R. Lambley, *The Teaching and Cultivation of the French Language in England during Tudor and Stuart Times* (Manchester: The University Press, 1920.)

19 The title pages of the earliest editions of the *Colloquia* advertise that the book will be profitable to those who study 'these Tongues, either at home or abroad.' When M. Sparke prints *The English Latine French Dutch Schole-master* (London 1637)—the four-language precursor to the 1639 *Colloquia* of eight languages—, the title page promises 'to teach young Gentleman and Merchants to Travell or Trade.' The 1639 *New Dialogues or Colloquies and A little Dictionary of eight Languages: Latin French Low-Dutch High-Dutch Spanish Italian English Portugall* advertises itself as 'now perfected and made fit for Travellers, young Merchants and Sea-Men, especially those that desire to attain to the use of these Tongues.' Unlike Baret's *Alvearie*, which aims to help one stay at home, Berlemont's wordlists continued to be marketed to a European readership eager to travel and trade, at home or abroad.

20 For more on the ways that typography signified linguistic and cultural similarity and difference, see my *Doppelgänger Dilemmas*, Ch. 4.

21 On the specific challenges of English and French 'interlinguicity' in the broader context of Anglo-French relations, see Deanne Williams, *The French Fetish from*

Chaucer to Shakespeare (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004); Jean-Christophe Mayer, 'The Ironies of Babel in Shakespeare's *Henry V*,' in *Representing France and the French in Early Modern English Drama*, ed. Jean-Christophe Mayer (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2008), p. 127–141; and my forthcoming essay, 'Incorporating Kate: The Myth of Monolingualism in Shakespeare's *Henry the Fifth*,' in *The Oxford Handbook of Shakespeare and Embodiment: Gender, Sexuality, and Race*, ed. Valerie Traub (Oxford: Oxford University Press).

22 Michael Saenger, 'Introduction,' in *Interlinguicity, Internationality, and Shakespeare* (Montréal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2014), p. 7–8.

23 Crystal Bartolovich, 'Shakespeare's Globe?' in Jean Howard and Scott Cutler Shershow, eds., *Marxist Shakespeares* (New York: Routledge, 2001), p. 187. In *Shakespeare and the French Borders of English*, Michael Saenger similarly contends: 'More than any other tongue, [French] resiliently asserted its ability to talk back', from beyond and within the borders of English (New York: Palgrave, 2013), p. 25.

24 The Norton ascribes this line to the Duke of Bourbon, the Arden (following the Folio) ascribes the line to the Duke of Britain.

25 On interlingual translation as rewording, see Roman Jakobson, 'On Linguistic Aspects of Translation' in Lawrence Venuti, ed., *The Translation Studies Reader* (New York: Routledge, 2012), p. 126–132, esp. p. 127. On the pervasiveness of rewording in Shakespeare, see George Watson, 'Shakespeare and the Norman Conquest: English in the Elizabethan Theatre,' *The Virginia Quarterly Review*, 66.4 (1990), 613–28.

26 The *OED* records the first instance of its appearance in English in Chaucer's translation of *Boethius's 'De consolatione philosophiae'* c.1374.

27 A search in *Lexicons of Early Modern English* (LEME), a database created by Ian Lancashire and housed at the University of Toronto, reveals that 'semblable' appeared in seventy-eight lexicons from 1530–1676. The first to use it is Palsgrave's *Lesclarcissement de la Langue Francoyse* (1530), where it appears in full entries but not as a headword. The first bilingual English / French dictionary to print 'semblable' as a headword is Randle Cotgrave's *Dictionary of the French and English Tongues* (1611).

CHAPTER FIVE

I wish to thank Noam Lior for his invaluable editorial assistance with this chapter and his on-the-ground help gathering images for this exhibit.

1 For an excellent introductory treatment of the contexts from which *Othello* emerges and in which the play is meaningful, I recommend Kim F. Hall's edition: William Shakespeare, *Othello, the Moor of Venice: Texts and Contexts*, ed. Kim F. Hall (Boston; Bedford/ St. Martins, 2007). Citations are drawn, respectively, from pages 1 and 2.

2 Emily C. Bartels, *Speaking of the Moor: From 'Alcazar' to 'Othello'* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009), p. 5.

3 Anthony Barthelemy, *Black Face, Maligned Race: the Representation of Blacks in English Drama from Shakespeare to Southerne* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1987), p. 7.

4 Cornelis Koeman, Günter Schilder, Marco van Egmond, and Peter van der Krogt, 'Commercial Cartography and Map Production in the Low Countries, 1500–ca. 1672,' in *The History of Cartography*, vol. 3, *Cartography in the European Renaissance,* pt. 2, ed. David Woodward (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007), p. 1318.

5 Imtiaz Habib, *Black Lives in the English Archives, 1500–1677: Imprints of the Invisible* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2008), p. 2. For more on the demographic diversity of London, see Nigel Goose and Lien Luu, eds., *Immigrants in Tudor and Early Stuart England* (Brighton: Sussex Academic Press, 2005). On the real and symbolic presence of Africa and Africans on the early modern stage, see Kim F. Hall, *Things of Darkness: Economies of Race and Gender in Early Modern England* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995); and Virginia Mason Vaughan, *Performing Blackness on English Stages, 1500–1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008).

6 Emily C. Bartels, '*Othello* and Africa: Postcolonialism Reconsidered,' *William and Mary Quarterly* 54.1 (1997), 45–64; p. 62.

7 Daniel Vitkus, *Turning Turk: English Theater and the Multicultural Mediterranean, 570–1630* (New York: Palgrave Macmillian, 2003), p. 161.

8 Jack d'Amico, *The Moor in English Renaissance Drama* (Gainesville, FL: The University Press of Florida, 1991), p. 4. Quoted in Hall, *Othello*, p. 3.

9 Margaret F. Rosenthal and Ann Rosalind Jones, eds. and trans., *The Clothing of the Renaissance World: Cesare Vecellio's Habiti antichi et moderni* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2008), p. 1000.

10 Valerie Traub, 'Mapping the Global Body,' in *Early Modern Visual Culture: Representation, Race, and Empire in Renaissance England*, ed. Peter Erickson and Clark Hulse (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000), p. 44–97; p. 51.

11 Martin Woods, 'Lovers of praiseworth Sea-Navigation' in *Mapping our World: Terra Incognita to Australia*, by the National Library of Australia (Canberra, ACT: National Library of Australia, 2013), p. 145.

12 Knolles, *The Generall Historie of the Turkes* (London, 1603), p. 1.

13 For the basis of these claims, and disputes, see Michael Neill, ed., *Othello, The Moor of Venice* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), p. 401.

14 Quoted in Hall, ed., *Othello*, p. 209.

15 Knolles, *The Generall Historie of the Turkes* (London, 1603), p. 847.

16 For more on this and on the role of Cyprus in the play more generally, see Raphael Falco, 'New Directions: Othello, The Turks, and Cyprus,' in *Othello: A critical reader*, ed. Robert C. Evans (London: Bloomsbury Arden Shakespeare, 2015), p. 149–172.

17 Vitkus, *Turning Turk*, p. 95.

CHAPTER SIX

1 See also Alan Young, *Punch and Shakespeare in the Victorian Era* (Bern: Peter Lang, 2007).

2 Andrew Murphy, *Shakespeare in Print: a History and Chronology of Shakespeare Publishing* (Cambridge, 2003).

3 I explore these topics in greater detail in *The Shakespearean Archive: Experiments in New Media from the Renaissance to Modernity* (Cambridge University Press, 2014). The definitive work on Malone and his relation to eighteenth-century editing is Margreta de Grazia, *Shakespeare Verbatim: the Reproduction of Authenticity and the 1790 Apparatus* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991).

4 All dates are taken from Philip Gaskell, *A New Introduction to Bibliography* (Winchester, UK & New Castle, DE: Oak Knoll Press, 1995). Note that several of these developments cannot be pinned down to a single year, and some—for example, roll-fed, steam-driven presses—took decades to become standard in book production. See also Ruari McLean, *Victorian Book Design and Colour Printing* (London: Faber & Faber, 1972).

5 Discussed in Galey, *The Shakespearean Archive*, chapters 4 and 5.

6 [Herman Melville], 'Hawthorne and His Mosses,' *The Literary World* (17 August 1850), p. 126.

7 On chromolithography and related techniques, see Michael Twyman, *Breaking the Mould: the First Hundred Years of Lithography* (London: British Library, 2001), p. 102–110; and McLean, *Victorian Book Design*, chs. 8–11.

8 A. de C. Scott, *On Photo-zincography and Other Photographic Processes Employed at the Ordnance Survey Office, Southampton* (London, 1863). A digital copy is currently available on Google Books.

9 *The Publishers' Circular* (15 April 1864), p. 96; emphasis added.

10 Staunton's proof-copy is held by the Folger Shakespeare Library in Washington, DC (Folger call no. PR2752 1866n Sh.Col., copy 4). I discuss this book in greater detail in 'Reading Shakespeare through Media Archaeology,' Dympna Callaghan and Suzanne Gossett (eds.), *Shakespeare in Our Time* (London: Bloomsbury—Arden Shakespeare, 2016 [forthcoming]).

11 For an overview of these projects, see Murphy, *Shakespeare in Print*, p. 192–5.

12 On the bibliographical concepts of format and imposition, see Gaskell, *A New Introduction to Bibliography*, p. 78–107. Pickering's Diamond Shakespeare editions also hold the distinction of being the earliest known examples of books released by a publisher in a cloth binding.

13 J.W.C., 'More Improvements in the Text of Shakespeare,' *Dublin University Magazine* (March, 1853), p. 365. See also Murphy, *Shakespeare in Print*, p. 13. I am grateful to Jeffrey Peachey, the iSchool's 2015 Patricia Fleming Visiting Fellow in Bibliography and Book History, for introducing me to this edition.

14 This aspect of my discussion of the Bowdlers is much indebted to Whitney Trettien's contributions to the Shakespeare Association of America seminar 'Shakespeare and Book Design,' held at the 2015 conference in Vancouver.

15 On the history of women editors of Shakespeare and other early modern dramatists, see Gordon McMullan, Lena Cowen Orlin, and Virginia Mason Vaughan (eds.), *Women Making Shakespeare: Text, Reception and Performance* (London: Bloomsbury—Arden Shakespeare, 2014).

16 See Charles LaPorte, 'The Devotional Texts of Victorian Bardolatry,' in Travis DeCook and Alan Galey (eds.), *Shakespeare, the Bible, and the Form of the Book: Contested Scriptures* (New York: Routledge, 2011), p. 143–59.

17 Kate Rumbold, 'Shakespeare Anthologized,' in Mark Thornton Burnett, Adrian Streete, and Ramona Wray (eds.), *The Edinburgh Companion to Shakespeare and the Arts* (Edinburgh University Press, 2011), p. 97.

18 See Margreta de Grazia, 'The Question of the One and the Many: The Globe Shakespeare, the *Complete King Lear*, and the New Folger Library Shakespeare,' *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 46.2 (1995), p. 245–51.

19 This story is told in greater detail in *The Shakespearean Archive*, p. 261–5.

20 Another twist in the story of the Globe's success is that its numerous reprintings have made the 1864 first edition a rare book. The copy shown in the exhibition (a gift to the Fisher by the author) came to Canada from Australia. This copy also appears in binding designed by British bookbinder James Hayday (1796–1872) to aid readability by allowing books to lie flat when open.

21 William S. Peterson, *The Kelmscott Press: a History of William Morris's Typographical Adventure* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), p. 42.

22 Peterson, *The Kelmscott Press*, p. 193, 259. See also p. 264 in Peterson for a trial page from *Macbeth*, made for the play's edition that never materialized, and using the same Golden type that appears in the 1893 volume of poems.

23 William S. Peterson (ed.), *The Ideal Book: Essays and Lectures on the Arts of the Book by William Morris* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982), p. 66.

24 John Dreyfus, *Into Print: Selected Writings on Printing History, Typography and Book Production* (London: British Library, 1994), p. 66.

25 http://www.typespec.co.uk/doves-type-revival/

26 See John Dreyfus, 'The Cranach Press,' in *Into Print: Selected Writings on Printing History, Typography, and Book Production* (London: British Library, 1994), p. 71–81.

27 See Lindsay Newman, 'From Stage to Page: *Hamlet* with Edward Gordon Craig,' in John Dieter Brinks (ed.), *The Book as a Work of Art: the Cranach Press of Count Harry Kessler* (Laubach & Berlin: Triton Verlag; Williamstown, Mass.: Williams College, 2005), p. 126–145.

28 See Sarah Werner, 'Johnston's "Hamlet" | Edward Johnston | 1929,' Kern Your Enthusiasm, no. 4, *Hilobrow.com* (8 April 2014): hilobrow.com/2014/08/04/kern-your-enthusiasm-4/

29 See Meredith Mann, 'From Page to Stage with the Cranach Press's *Hamlet*,' *New York Public Library* blog (14 November 2014), http://www.nypl.org/blog/2014/11/14/cranach-press-hamlet

30 See Newman, 'From Stage to Page,' p. 140.

31 Suzanne Gossett (ed.), *Pericles*, Arden Shakespeare 3rd series (London: Thomson Learning, 2004), p. 1. See Gossett's introduction for the play's production and reception history, including its recent successful revivals for the modern stage.

32 Simon Brett, 'On the Making of Pericles,' in *Reading Pericles* (Mission, BC: Barbarian Press, 2010), p. 9. In the same volume, Crispin Elsted provides background on the play's textual history, as well as notes and glosses on the text.

33 See Kellett's description of the book on her website: http://www.dewaldenpress.com/all-books/storming-shakespeare.html

34 See Kellett's explanation of the making of the book in her guest post for the Folger Shakespeare Library blog, *The Collation*: http://collation.folger.edu/2014/12/storming-shakespeare-creating-an-artists-book/

35 For a description and digital images, see http://studiorobertwunews.blogspot.ca/2013/01/new-binding-by-robert-wu-2013.html. Wu's other work is displayed on this blog and at www.studiorobertwu.com.

List of Books Included in the Exhibition

Chapter One (exhibition cases one and two)

William Burton (1575–1645). *The Description of Leicester Shire: Containing Matters of Antiquitye, Historye, Armorye, and Genealogy*. London: Printed for John White, [1622].

André Favyn. *The Theater of Honour and Knight-hood*. London: Printed by W. Jaggard, 1623.

Augustine Vincent (approx. 1584–1626). *A Discouerie of Errours in the First Edition of the Catalogue of Nobility, published by Raphe Brooke*. London: William Jaggard, 1622.

William Shakespeare (1564–1616). *Mr. William Shakespeares Comedies, Histories, & Tragedies. Published according to the True Originall Copies*. London: Printed by Isaac Jaggard, and Ed. Blount, 1623. The First Folio.

William Shakespeare (1564–1616). *Mr. William Shakespeares Comedies, Histories, and Tragedies. Published according to the True Originall Copies*. The second impression. London: Printed by Tho. Cotes, for Robert Allot, 1632. The Second Folio.

William Shakespeare (1564–1616). *Mr. William Shakespear's Comedies, Histories, and Tragedies* ... The third impression. And unto this impression is added seven playes. London: Printed for P.C., 1664. The Third Folio.

William Shakespeare (1564–1616). *Mr. William Shakespear's Comedies, Histories, and Tragedies* ... The fourth edition. London: Printed for H. Herringman, E. Brewster, and R. Bentley, 1685. The Fourth Folio.

Thomas Wilson (1563–1622). *A Christian Dictionary*. The Third Edition. London: Printed by William Jagga[r]d, 1622.

Chapter Two (exhibition case three)

Francis Bacon (1561–1626). *The Essaies of Sr. Francis Bacon*. London: J. Jaggard, 1613.

Giovanni Boccaccio (1313–1375). *Il Decamerone*. Venice: Gabriel Giolito de Ferrari, 1548.

Giovanni Boccaccio (1313–1375). *The Modell of Wit, Mirth, Eloquence and Conversation Framed in Ten Days*. London: Printed by Isaac Jaggard, 1625.

Ralph Brooke (1553–1625). *A Catalogue and Succession of the Kings, Princes, Dukes, Marquesses, Earles, and Viscountes*. London: Printed by William Jaggard, 1619.

John Davies (1569–1626). *A Discovery of the State of Ireland*. London: Printed for John Jaggard, 1613.
On loan from the Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies, Victoria University in the University of Toronto.

Robert Glover (1544–1588). *Nobilitas politica vel ciuilis*. London: Printed by William Jaggard, 1608.

Homer. *The Whole Works of Homer*. Translated by George Chapman. London: Printed for Nathaniell Butter, 1616.

Thomas Milles (1550?–1627?). *The Catalogue of Honor*. London: Printed by William Jaggard, 1610.

Chapter Three (exhibition case four)

The Bible. English. Geneva version. London: By the deputies of Christopher Barker, 1599.

Henry Bull (–1575). *Christian Praiers and Holie Meditations*. London: Imprinted by H. Middleton, 1576.

Dell' historia naturale. Napoli, Stamperia à Porta Reale, per C. Vitale, 1599.

Dove: An Almanack for the Year Since the Nativitie of our Lord 1635. Printed by the Printers to the University of Cambridge, 1635.

Raphael Holinshed (d.1580?). *The First and Second [-third-] Volumes of Chronicles*. London: Printed at the expenses of John Harison, George Bishop, Rafe Newberie, Henrie Denham, and Thomas Woodcocke, 1587.

Ovid, (43 BC–17 AD). *Le Metamorfosi*. Translated by Giovanni Andrea dell'Anguillara. Venice: Bern. Giunti, 1584.

Plutarch. *The Lives of the Noble Grecians and Romanes*. Translated by James Amyot. London: Thomas Vautroullier and John Wight, 1570.

Chapter Four (exhibition case five)

John Baret (–1580?). *An Alvearie or Quadruple Dictionarie*. London: Henry Denham, 1580.

Noël de Berlaimont (–1531). *Dictionariolum et colloquia octo linguarum*. Antwerp: Hendrick Aertsens, 1662.

Henry Cockeram. *The English Dictionary or, An Interpreter of Hard English Words* (London: By H.C. Gent, 1631). 3rd edition.

Robert Dodsley (1681–1750). On Biblical subjects [Manuscript]. Mansfield, [170–?].

John Minsheu (fl. 1617). *Ηγεμων εις τας γλωσσας, id est, Ductor in linguas, The Guide into Tongues*. London: I. Browne, 1617.

William Shakespeare (1564–1616). *Mr. William Shakespear's Comedies, Histories, and Tragedies* ... The fourth edition. London: Printed for H. Herringman, E. Brewster, and R. Bentley, 1685. The Fourth Folio.

Richard Verstegen (approximately 1550–1640). *A Restitution of Decayed Intelligence in Antiquities*. Antwerp: Printed by Robert Bruney, 1605.

Chapter Five (exhibition case six)

Hendrik Doncker (1626–1699). *De zee-atlas ofte water-waereld*. Amsterdam: H. Doncker, 1666.

Peter Heylyn (1600–1662). *Cosmographie*. London: P. Chetwind, 1670.

Richard Knolles (1550?–1610). *The Generall Historie of the Turkes*. London: Printed by A. Islip, 1638.

William Shakespeare (1564–1616). *Othello, the Moor of Venice*. London: Printed for R. Wellington, 1705.

John Speed (1552?–1629). *A Prospect of the Most Famous Parts of the World*. London: Printed by M. and S. Simmons, 1662.

Cesare Vecellio (approximately 1521–1601). *Habiti antichi et moderni di tutto il mondo*. Venice: Appresso i Sessa, 1598.

Chapter Six (exhibition cases seven and eight and Maclean Hunter Room)

Lawrence Hyde (1914–1987). *Engravings for Macbeth*. Toronto: Golden Dog Press, c1939.

Jan Kellett. *Storming Shakespeare : An Essay*. Qualicum Beach, B.C.: DeWalden Press, 2012

William Shakespeare (1564–1616). *Mr. William Shakespear's Comedies, Histories, & Tragedies*. Southampton: Ordnance Survey Office, 1862.

William Shakespeare (1564–1616). *Mr. William Shakespeare's Comedies, Histories, & Tragedies*. London: Day and Son, 1866.

William Shakespeare (1564–1616). *A New Variorum Edition of Shakespeare*. Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott, 1871.

William Shakespeare (1564–1616). *The Plays of Shakespeare, in Nine Volumes*. London: William Pickering, 1825.

William Shakespeare (1564–1616). *The Poems of William Shakespeare*. Hammersmith: Kelmscott Press, 1893.

William Shakespeare (1564–1616). *Scenes from The Winter's Tale*. London: Day and Son, [1865].

William Shakespeare (1564–1616). *Sentiments and Similes of William Shakespeare*. London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1851.
On loan from Massey College, University of Toronto

William Shakespeare (1564–1616). *Shakespeare's Comedy of A Midsummer Night's Dream*. London: Constable, 1914.
Illustrations by W. Heath Robinson.
Two copies, one bound by Robert Wu.

William Shakespeare (1564–1616). *Shakespeare's Household Words*. London: Griffith & Farran, [1859]

William Shakespeare (1564–1616). *Shake-speares Sonnets : Tercentenary Edition*. Hammersmith: Doves Press, 1909.
On loan from Massey College, University of Toronto

William Shakespeare (1564–1616). *The Play of Pericles Prince of Tyre*. Newly edited & introduced by Crispin Elsted ; illustrated with wood engravings by Simon Brett. [Mission, B.C.]: Barbarian Press, 2009–2010.

William Shakespeare (1564–1616. *The Tragedie of Hamlet, Prince of Denmarke*. Weimar: Cranach Press, 1930.

William Shakespeare (1564–1616). *The Works of William Shakespeare*. Edited by William George Clark and William Aldis Wright. Cambridge: Macmillan, 1864. The Globe Shakespeare.

Don Taylor. *Illustrations for Macbeth*. Toronto: Pointyhead Press, 2012.
Two limited editions; the full-size edition on loan from Massey College, University of Toronto.

Picture credits

Chapter One

Reproductions of the 1594 quarto of *Titus Andronicus* [STC 22328, leaf A1 verso || leaf A2 recto : title page], the Pavier quarto of *Henry V* [STC 22291, front endleaf 4 verso || leaf A1 recto: title page], the *Antony and Cleopatra* proofsheet [22273 Fo. 1 fragment, leaf 2x6 verso, page 353] and the cancelled page of *Romeo and Juliet* [22273 Fo. 1 no. 02, leaf 2g3 recto, page 77] are used by permission of the Folger Shakespeare Library.

Chapter Two

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Chapter Three

Reproduction of the book wheel in the 1588 edition of Ramelli courtesy of Mark Andrews.

Chapter Four

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Chapter Five

Detail from 'Angliae et Hiberniae' in Abraham Ortelius, *Theatre of the Whole World* (1606) and detail from 'Britannicae Insulae' in Gerhard Mercator, *Atlas sive cosmographicae* (1595) by kind permission of the Huntington Library, San Marino, California.

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Author Biographies

Peter W. M. Blayney, widely considered the leading expert on the book trade in early modern London, is Adjunct Professor of English at the University of Toronto, Distinguished Fellow of the Folger Shakespeare Library, and has been made a freeman of the Stationers' Company of London. His publications include a monograph on the printing of the first edition of *King Lear* (1982), a book on the First Folio written to accompany an exhibition he curated at the Folger Library (1991), the introduction to the second edition of *The Norton Facsimile* of the First Folio (1996), and an essay on the publication of early modern playbooks that won the Sohmer-Hall Prize for 1997. He has been awarded fellowships by Trinity College Cambridge, the National Endowment for the Humanities, and the John Simon Guggenheim Foundation, and was the inaugural Sam Wanamaker Fellow at Shakespeare's Globe, London. He is currently working on a sequel (extending to 1616) to his acclaimed book, *The Stationers' Company and the Printers of London, 1501–1557* (Cambridge University Press, 2013, reprinted 2015).

Alan Galey is Associate Professor and Director of the Master of Information graduate program in the Faculty of Information at the University of Toronto, where he also teaches in the collaborative program in Book History and Print Culture. His first monograph book, *The Shakespearean Archive: Experiments in New Media from the Renaissance to Postmodernity*, was published in 2014 by Cambridge University Press. He has published in journals such as *Book History*, *Shakespeare Quarterly*, *Literary and Linguistic Computing*, *College Literature*, and *Archival Science*, and has co-edited the book collection *Shakespeare, the Bible, and the Form of the Book: Contested Scriptures* (with Travis DeCook; Routledge, 2011). His article "The Enkindling Reciter: E-Books in the Bibliographical Imagination," published in Book History in 2012, was awarded the Fredson Bowers Prize by the Society for Textual Scholarship. He was also given the Outstanding Instructor Award by the Master of Information Student Council for 2013-2014.

Marjorie Rubright is Associate Professor of English at the University of Toronto and the Norman Freehling Visiting Professor at the University of Michigan, Institute for the Humanities (2015-2016). Her first book, *Doppelgänger Dilemmas: Anglo-Dutch Relations in Early Modern English Literature and Culture* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014), reveals the significance of the literary and historical forces of similitude in an era that was often preoccupied with ethnic and cultural difference. In addition to teaching courses on Shakespeare and his contemporaries at Toronto, she has served as dramaturge for a production of the Renaissance pirate drama, *A Christian Turn'd Turke,* and co-organized an international interdisciplinary conference on *Early Modern Migrations.* Her recent publications include: "Charting New Worlds: The Early Modern World Atlas and Electronic Archives," *Teaching Early Modern English Literature from the Archive* (MLA 2015); and "Incorporating Kate: The Myth of Monolingualism in William Shakespeare's *Henry the Fifth*," *The Oxford Handbook of Shakespeare and Embodiment: Gender, Sexuality, and Race* (Oxford University Press 2016). Her current book project, *A World of Words: Language, Globalization, and the English Renaissance,* considers how stories about the history of language shaped the period's conceptions of globalization.

Scott Schofield is Assistant Professor in the Department of English at Huron University College at Western University where he teaches a variety of courses including offerings in Shakespeare. His recent publications include articles on Shakespeare and biblical allusion and the history of Renaissance reading practices. His co-authored chapter on "The Digital Book" recently appeared in *The Cambridge Companion to The History of the Book* (with Jon Bath; Cambridge, 2014). Before coming to Huron, he was responsible for teaching the core graduate courses in the collaborative program in Book History and Print Culture at the University of Toronto.

A Timeline Illustrating Works Printed and Published by the Jaggards (1594-1627).

The visualization illustrates works printed and published by a series of London stationers of the same family name. At the forefront of this group, and the most prolific stationer in the list, is William Jaggard. We know of William Jaggard today because of his involvement in the production of Shakespeare's plays of 1623, popularly referred as The First Folio; but as this chart illustrates, The First Folio was but one work from a long series of imprints that William had overseen since 1594. That year also saw his brother John Jaggard begin publishing works in London.

Printers/Publishers.

In this period, the publisher was the economic backbone of the operation, the figure who financed an imprint's production: the man or woman who supplied the capital to see the work printed. John Jaggard published books exclusively, leaving the printing to other stationers. William, on the other hand, printed books, but also occasionally published them too. Those entries on the chart with two green boxes identify works printed and published by William*, while those with consecutive green and yellow boxes identify works printed by William but published by John Jaggard. The Jaggards also regularly worked with other London stationers, which here are denoted by white boxes. Finally, the later end of the chart includes works printed and/or published by William's son Isaac Jaggard (blue), and single examples by Elizabeth and Dorothy (orange and red).

*In cases where no publisher is mentioned on a Jaggard imprint (e.g. Printed by William Jaggard) we have named him as publisher. This makes sense as we know William both printed and published works, but there are likely several instances where another publisher was involved, but has been left unnamed. In other words, users of the chart should approach such cases with these reservations in mind.

Authorship.

Authorship in this period is often a murky business. Many title-pages fail to mention an author, while others highlight only a single author from a larger collaboration. There are also cases of misattribution. Shakespeare's name, for example had been used on title pages for several imprints that we now know were not his. In such cases where the STC or ESTC lists the *real* author, or offers an attributed author, we have used it; otherwise, we have retained the false attribution or used anonymous when no author was mentioned. For known or attributed collaborations we have used the first author in the list. Finally, in cases of City or Government publications, we have used corporate names.

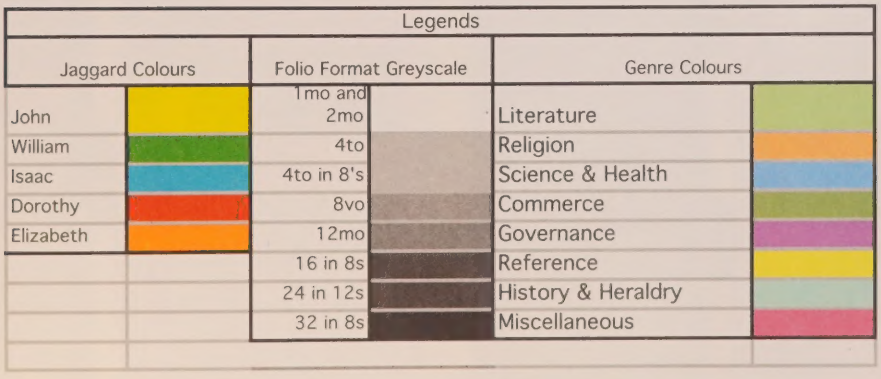
Genre and Date:

All genres and dates are taken, when possible, from the Short-Title Catalogue (STC) (1976-1991), the online English Short-Title Catalogue (ESTC), and in a few cases, EEBO (Early English Books Online). We have followed the ESTC for entries that supply reliable subject headings and/or genres and have supplied and/or conjectured the genre when required.

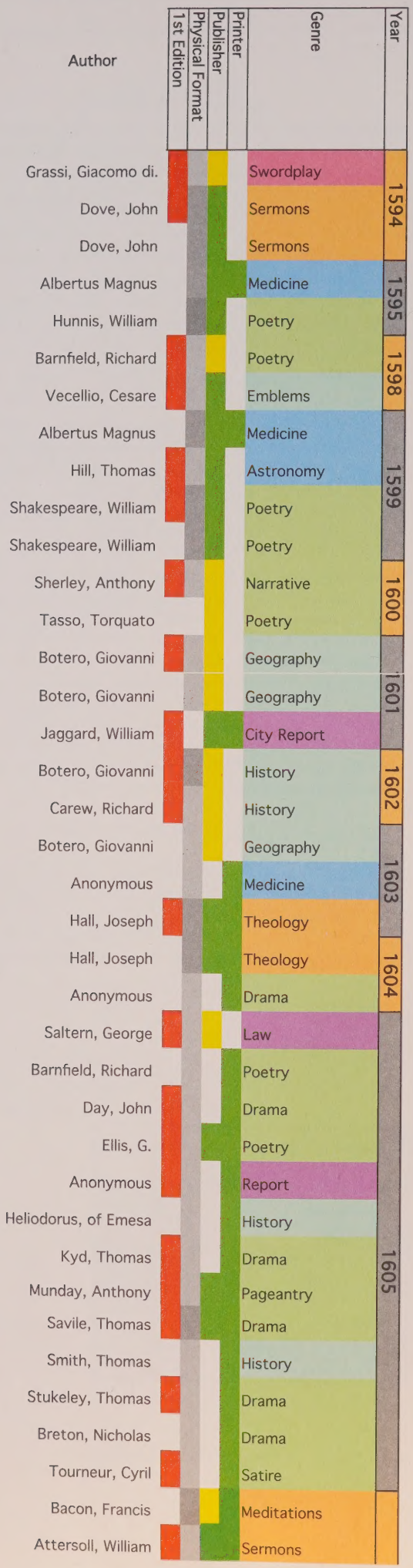
While most dates used for a particular edition remain the same in the STC and ESTC, there are certain discrepancies. In such cases we have generally followed the STC. For those instances where the STC or ESTC conjectures a date, (e.g. 1621?), we have accepted the conjecture. In other cases, (e.g. after 1621, or, not before 1620), we have incorporated the date as best possible. Finally, where a false imprint has been discovered, we have included the work in its corrected date space. The second quarto edition of *King Lear*, for example, carries the date of 1608, but has since been shown to have been printed in 1619. We have therefore treated it as a 1619 imprint.

First Editions and Formats.

First editions are denoted with red boxes, while the various formats (i.e. the sizes of books) are denoted using a grey-scale. In short, the lighter the shade of grey the larger the book. Single sheets (1°) and Large Folios (2°) are of light grey, while smaller fomats get gradually darker as we move from (4°) to (32°).



Conceived by Scott Schofield. Designed and Compiled by Kathryn Holmes and Jessica MacDonald.


Author
1st Edition
Physical Format
Publisher
Printer
Genre
Year
Grassi, Giacomo di.
Swordplay
Dove, John
Sermons
Dove, John
Sermons
1594
Albertus Magnus
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Hunnis, William
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1598
Albertus Magnus
Medicine
Hill, Thomas
Astronomy
Shakespeare, William
Poetry
Shakespeare, William
Poetry
1599
Sherley, Anthony
Narrative
Tasso, Torquato
Poetry
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Botero, Giovanni
Geography
Botero, Giovanni
Geography
1601
Jaggard, William
City Report
Botero, Giovanni
History
Carew, Richard
History
1602
Botero, Giovanni
Geography
Anonymous
Medicine
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Hall, Joseph
Theology
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Saltern, George
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Barnfield, Richard
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Day, John
Drama
Ellis, G.
Poetry
Anonymous
Report
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History
Kyd, Thomas
Drama
Munday, Anthony
Pageantry
Savile, Thomas
Drama
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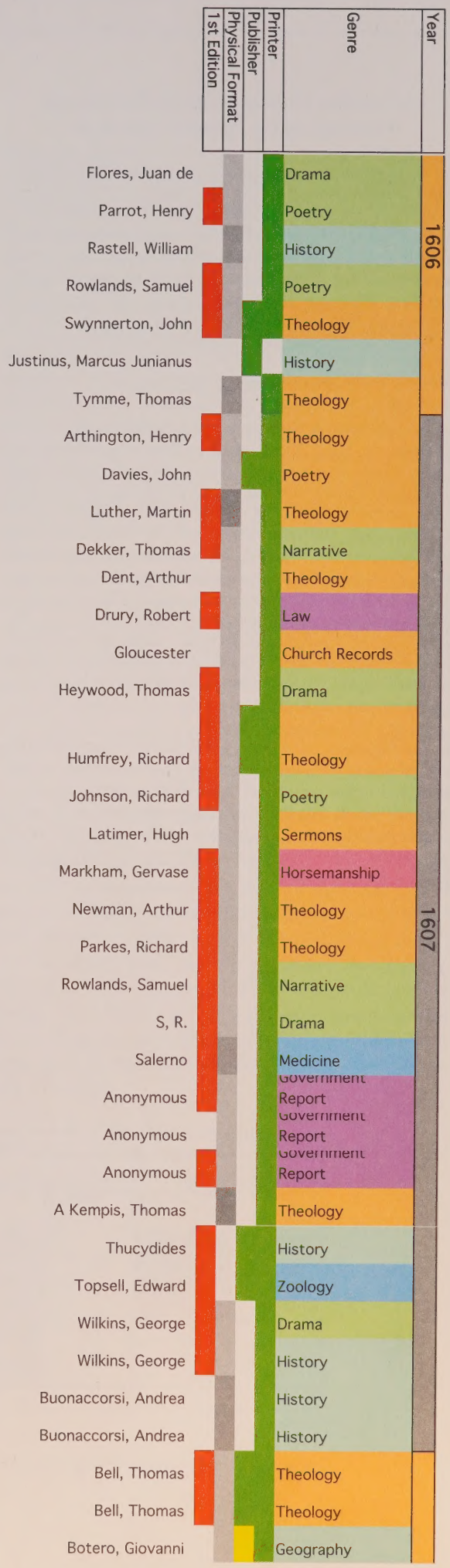
Smith, Thomas
History
Stukeley, Thomas
Drama
Breton, Nicholas
Drama
Tourneur, Cyril
Satire
Bacon, Francis
Meditations
Attersoll, William
Sermons


1st Edition
Physical Format
Publisher
Printer
Genre
Year
Flores, Juan de
Drama
Parrot, Henry
Poetry
Rastell, William
History
Rowlands, Samuel
Poetry
Swynnerton, John
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Justinus, Marcus Junianus
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1606
Tymme, Thomas
Theology
Arthington, Henry
Theology
Davies, John
Poetry
Luther, Martin
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Dekker, Thomas
Narrative
Dent, Arthur
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Drury, Robert
Law
Gloucester
Church Records
Heywood, Thomas
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Humfrey, Richard
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Markham, Gervase
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Newman, Arthur
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Parkes, Richard
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Government Report
Anonymous
Government Report
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Wilkins, George
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Wilkins, George
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Buonaccorsi, Andrea
History
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Theology
Bell, Thomas
Theology
Botero, Giovanni
Geography

Author
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Physical Format
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Year
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Fleming, Abraham
Glover, Robert
Hall, Joseph
Milles, Thomas
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Pullein, Thomas
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Eburne, Richard
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Heywood, Thomas
Milles, Thomas
Milles, Thomas
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Sallust.
Sudlow, Edward
Topsell, Edward
Dade, John
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Elyot, Thomas
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Anonymous
Marcelline, George
Milles, Thomas
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Theology
History
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Commerce
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Zoology
History
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Theology
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Psalms
Sermons
Church Records
Sermons
Poetry
Commerce
Economics
Poetry
History
Law
Sermons
Almanacs
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Medicine
Church Records
Narrative
Trade
Oaths
Oaths
History
History
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Milles, Thomas
Topsell, Edward
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Botero, Giovanni
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Dering, Edward
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De Granada, Luis
Milles, Thomas
Munday, Anthony
Munday, Anthony
Munday, Anthony
Bacon, Francis
Bacon, Francis
Field, Nathan
Davies, John
Legh, Gerard
Attersoll, William
Gloucester
Frewen, John
City of London
Marlowe, Christopher
Marlowe, Christopher
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Shakespeare, William
Fuchs, Gilbert
Wilson, Thomas
Bacon, Francis
Davies, John
Daniel, Samuel
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Abbott, George (Archbishop of Canterbury)
Abbott, George (Archbishop of Canterbury)
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Catechisms
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Meditations
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Poetry
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Year
City of London and Middleton, Thomas
Law
Milles, Thomas
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Milles, Thomas
Economics
Milles, Thomas
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Catechisms
Dering, Edward
Catechisms
Rastell, William
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Crooke, Helkiah
Anatomy
Dering, Edward
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Abbott, George (Archbishop of Canterbury)
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Homer.
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Mocket, Richard
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Parsons, Robert
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Sharpe, Edward
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Botero, Giovanni
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Coryate, Thomas
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Coryate, Thomas
Travel Narratives
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Homer
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Read, Alexander
Medicine
Sutton, Christopher
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Wilson, Thomas
Dictionaries
Heywood, Thomas
Drama
Pare, Ambroise
Medicine
Magnus, Albertus
Medicine
Cawdrey, Robert
Dictionaries
Dering, Edward
Catechisms
London
Acts and Orders
London
Acts and Orders
London
Acts and Orders
1617
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Economics
Musaeus
Poetry
Richardson, Charles
Sermons
Wallis, Thomas
Meditations
Whately, William
Sermons
Wimbledon, Richard
Sermons
Wimbledon, Richard
Sermons
Attersoll, William
Theology
Crooke, Helkiah
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England, Church of Norwich
Church Report
Jaggard, William
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Anonymous
Polemic
Brooke, Ralph
Heraldry
Fulgenzio, Micanzio
Theology
Milles, Thomas
History
Munday, Anthony
Drama
Parsons, Robert
Theology
Shakespeare, William
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Shakespeare, William
Drama
Shakespeare, William
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Law
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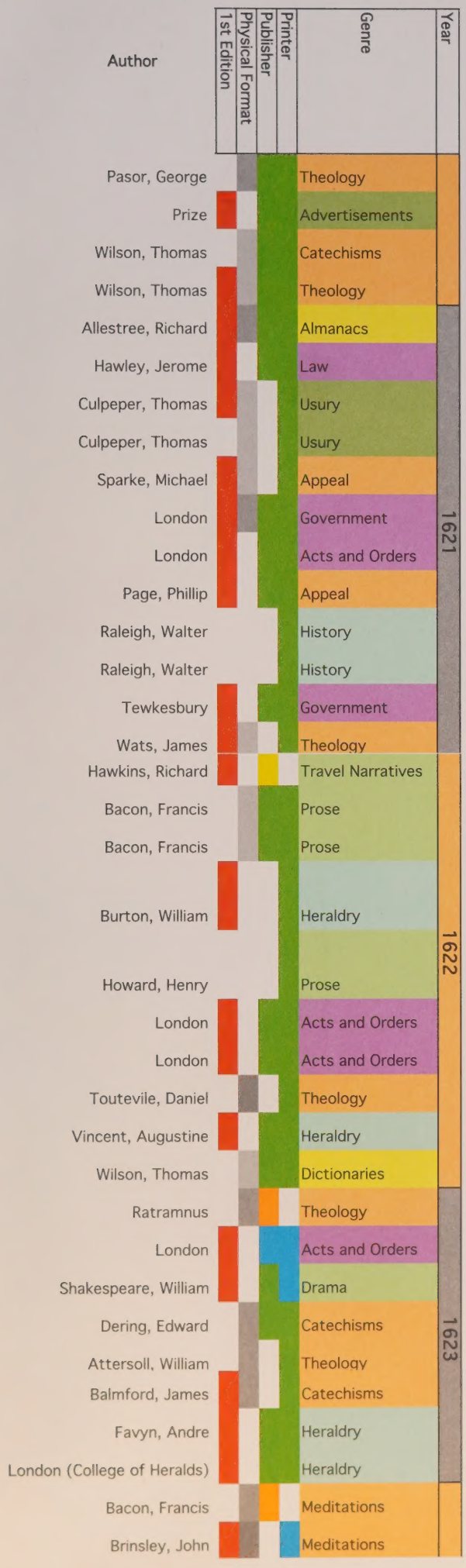
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Allestree, Richard
Hawley, Jerome
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Culpeper, Thomas
Sparke, Michael
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London
Page, Phillip
Raleigh, Walter
Raleigh, Walter
Tewkesbury
Wats, James
Hawkins, Richard
Bacon, Francis
Bacon, Francis
Burton, William
Howard, Henry
London
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Toutevile, Daniel
Vincent, Augustine
Wilson, Thomas
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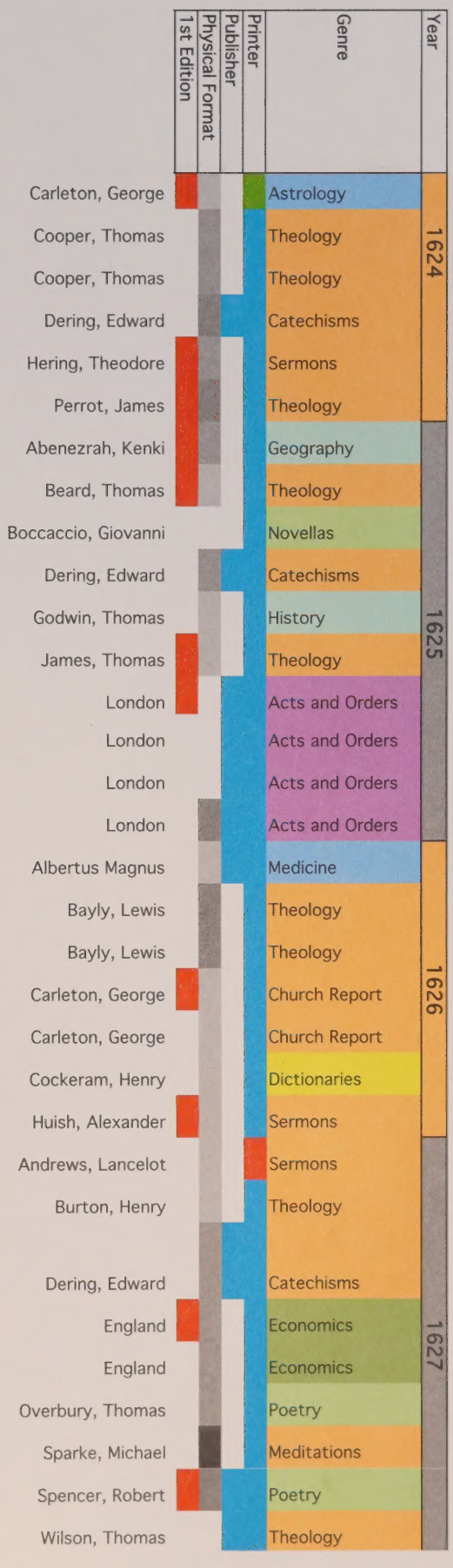
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